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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Yazov Cited on Impact of Arms Cuts at Home, Abroad

PM2702165789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

["USSR Defense Minister Army General D.T. Yazov Answers Questions by an IZVESTIYA Correspondent: 'In the Interests of Universal Security and Peace'"—IZVESTIYA headline; place, date not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] The world public's attention remains focused on the initiatives put forward by M.S. Gorbachev at the United Nations, and primarily the Soviet Union's decision on the unilateral reduction of its Armed Forces. Comrade Minister, how do you assess the response to the Soviet initiatives abroad?

[Yazov] M.S. Gorbachev's UN speech was perceived by the world public as one of the most important events in contemporary international life, as a manifesto of the new political thinking. There was a tremendous response to the latest Soviet initiatives, including the decision on the unilateral reduction of the Armed Forces. It must be said that the reaction to them was a sort of touchstone of ideas about the future, of practical intentions. This demonstrated a fairly distinct polarization of forces.

At the one pole you have those who approve and support the Soviet initiatives and perceive them as new specific steps by the USSR along the path toward strengthening universal security and improving the political climate in the world. They include the socialist states and the progressive international public. They include realistically minded politicians and businessmen in capitalist countries. They include many leaders and figures in developing states.

At the opposite pole you have the Western circles whose stance is determined by confrontational stereotypes, whose thinking still displays obvious military strongarm overtones. They look at the development prospects of international relations exclusively through the prism of gaining unilateral advantages and military superiority. The result is a corresponding reaction from these circles to the decisions by the Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries on unilateral reductions of armed forces.

For example, J. Tower, who has been nominated secretary of defense in the new U.S. Administration, recently called on the North Atlantic bloc partners to adopt a "skeptical" attitude toward the initiatives of the socialist countries and to make additional efforts to strengthen NATO's armed forces. Similar statements have also been made by some other Atlanticists. Naturally, such an unconstructive approach toward the matter cannot be ignored.

[Correspondent] Being a member of the Defense Ministers Committee of the Warsaw Pact states, you took part in the preparation and adoption of the recently published statement "On the Correlation of the Numerical Strength of the Armed Forces and Armaments of the Warsaw Pact Organization and the North Atlantic Alliance in Europe and Its Adjoining Waters." What could you say in connection with this document's publication?

[Yazov] I arrived in Sofia to attend the committee session which made the decision on the statement from Armenia, where work was unfolding on a broad front to eliminate the consequences of the disastrous earthquake. People—both civilian and military—worked selflessly to save the survivors and clear the obstacles. I saw servicemen from the armies of other states, and not only from socialist states, working shoulder to shoulder with Soviet soldiers. They worked together, striving to help the victims as swiftly as possible. A thought crossed my mind then: If people can put differences aside and pool their efforts in the face of the blind elements, why should they not rally together for the sake of averting from mankind the far more terrible calamity which is threatened by the arms race?

The idea of rallying people in the same kind of way, of creating favorable prerequisites for jointly building reliable security on the foundations of realism and a balance of interests also imbues, so to speak, the document adopted at the Sofia session. Its importance is determined primarily by the publication of real data on the armed forces and armaments of the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries in Europe and its adjoining waters.

I recall that back in March last year the Warsaw Pact countries proposed to the NATO countries an official exchange of statistical information on the armed forces and armaments of the two military-political alliances in Europe. In so doing we were guided by a desire to promote the earliest opening of new talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, the development and expansion of the existing confidence-building measures in light of the limitation of military activity on the European Continent, and the extension of those measures to the independent activity of air and naval forces. However, we did not receive a positive response to our proposal from the NATO countries. Furthermore, at the end of November 1988 they unilaterally published what were, to put it mildly, tendentious figures based on a selective approach and designed for propaganda purposes. They include ground forces, partially include air forces, and do not touch naval forces, in other words, they give a one-sided and unobjective picture of the situation and the correlation of the two alliances' military potentials in Europe.

There was a need for clarity and publication of the full figures in the spirit of glasnost, so that every intelligent person could if he wanted draw up a true picture of the existing realities. That was achieved by the Defense Ministers Committee's statement. The statistics cited in it, which in no way replace the subject of the Vienna talks which open in March this year, make it possible to have a better understanding of the nature of these asymmetries in the components of the armed forces of the sides and to impart a productive character to the dialogue on reduction of the military potentials in Europe from the very outset. Let us not forget that an essential condition of success in Vienna is that each participant in the talks renounces attempts to secure advantages for himself to the detriment of others.

[Correspondent] But how are the decisions of the USSR and the other allied states on the unilateral reduction of their armed forces linked with the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine?

[Yazov] The decisions of the USSR and the other Warsaw Pact countries on unilateral reductions represent the practical realization of fundamental provisions of our defensive military doctrine. How is this expressed?

Primarily in the large scale of the reductions. In Europe alone the Warsaw Pact countries are cutting 296,300 men from their personnel, almost 12,000 tanks, 9,130 artillery systems, 930 warplanes, and other armaments. The military budget will be reduced by an average of 13.6 percent. Including southern and eastern parts of the USSR, the total reduction will amount to 556,300 men.

In addition to the large-scale reductions, fundamental qualitative changes are also being made in our armed forces. They are being given a nonoffensive structure. Let me cite the facts. Modern types of weapons are subject to reduction (5,300 of the most modern tanks are being removed from the groups of forces). The six tank divisions that are being removed from the GDR, the CSSR, and Hungary are being disbanded [rasformirovyvayutsya]. I repeat: disbanded, not deployed elsewhere. The divisions currently remaining on our allies' territory are being reformed and given a clearly marked defensive structure.

Assault-landing [desantno-shturmovyye] and assault-crossing [desantno-perepravochnyye] formations and units with their armaments and equipment are being withdrawn from the groups of forces. This means that the "potential for a surprise attack" which for a long time was used to intimidate the public in the West European countries is being removed. In that way the imaginary or real concern of certain Western circles is also being removed.

All these new and specific steps in the practical realization of the Warsaw Pact's defensive military doctrine graphically confirm the consistency of the line of the USSR and its allies toward the restructuring of the armed forces on the principle of defensive sufficiency.

[Correspondent] Do you consider it possible that there will be a response by the United States and the North Atlantic allies analogous to the USSR's decision on reducing its armed forces, irrespective of the upcoming conventional arms talks?

[Yazov] Let me say this—no one is obliged to show goodwill. But in taking the decision to reduce our armed forces unilaterally, we did not set any conditions. One would like—that is only natural—to see answering steps by the other side. The Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers Committee statement also expressed the hope that NATO members will demonstrate their readiness to move toward the strengthening of stability and security in Europe, in part through the implementation of unilateral measures to reduce armed forces and armaments.

It is, of course, for the NATO countries themselves to decide what form these measures could take. But there is no doubt that the international public, including the Western countries' own public, awaits such decisions. Obviously, security, peace, and confidence could only gain from decisions of that kind. And the upcoming talks between the 23 states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO on conventional armed forces would receive another useful boost.

Thus far, however, NATO has gone no further than assurances of its "peaceability."

[Correspondent] Certain Western mass media claim the USSR's decision to unilaterally reduce its armed forces is dictated exclusively by the economic difficulties our country is experiencing. What can you say about that?

[Yazov] Economic considerations are important for any country. For us too, as a result of the troop cuts, tens of thousands of workers will pour into the national economy, cadres in health care and the social sphere will be replenished, and expenditure on defense will be reduced markedly. But the Soviet initiative is not simply a matter of saving money or redistributing resources. It is a realization of the USSR's long-term foreign policy course defined by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference—the course of demilitarization of international relations and elimination of the threat of all war, not only nuclear war. This is a really enormous task. Its resolution presupposes pooling the efforts of all states.

[Correspondent] When will the implementation of the Soviet initiatives begin in practice? Which specific military formations are proposed for withdrawal from the territory of allied states?

[Yazov] The unilateral reductions we announced are already being implemented. They will be carried out by stages, in the course of the years 1989-1990, in accordance with plans agreed with the allied countries. The first, preparatory stage, which it is planned to implement in the first half of each of those 2 years, includes a number of organizational measures in the groups of forces with a view to giving them a more defensive thrust, in particular by converting combined-arms formations to a new organizational structure.

In the second stage (May-August of each year) it is planned to withdraw to the USSR's territory the formations and units due for disbanding [rasformirovaniye]. During that stage of the current year, three tank divisions will be withdrawn from the groups of Soviet forces by 15 August. That includes two from the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, stationed in Vogelsang and Jueterbog, and one from the Southern Group of Forces, stationed in the region of the city of Veszprem. In addition, 24 tactical missile launchers, about 2,700 tanks, and a significant quantity of other armaments will be withdrawn from the groups of Soviet forces. Next year, 1990, two more tank divisions will leave the GDR and one will leave the CSSR. Over the same period assault-landing and assault-crossing formations and units will be withdrawn from the territory of fraternal countries together with the arms and combat hardware I already mentioned, as well as 260 combat aircraft. All the measures to implement the initiatives will be completed by November-December 1990.

[Correspondent] Will tactical nuclear systems be withdrawn along with the troops being cut? In the context of the considerable reduction in tanks, is it proposed to reduce their production, and also to put to use in civil sectors the military hardware from the troops being cut?

[Yazov] The formations and units being cut will be withdrawn in their full strength, including their tactical nuclear systems. As for tank production, a significant reduction in the tank pool—by 10,000 tanks—will naturally entail a reduction in production too. The reduction will affect the production of a number of other types of weapons and combat hardware. Some of the hardware, after the removal of the arms and also certain subassemblies and components, will, it is proposed, be used in the national economy.

[Correspondent] Public attention has been drawn to M.S. Gorbachev's words that all the Soviet divisions still remaining on our allies' territory will be reformed. What does this mean?

[Yazov] We have already partly touched on this question. I will use a specific example to explain. Tank regiments will be removed from the motorized infantry divisions of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the Central Group of Forces. They will be left only with motorized infantry regiments, and the number of tanks will fall by 40 percent. The number of tanks in tank divisions will fall by more than 20 percent as a result of excluding one tank regiment from them. In the reorganized divisions there will be an increase in the number of antitank and antiaircraft means, means for creating obstacles and laying minefields, and also engineering-position camouflage equipment. As a result, these formations and units will acquire a qualitatively different structure, namely a defensive one. In addition, the separate tank regiments in the groups of forces will be transformed into motorized infantry regiments.

[Correspondent] What can you say about changes in the composition of the groupings of our troops as a whole—both in the European part of the USSR and on the territory of our European allies and also in the Asian part?

[Yazov] The grouping of our troops stationed in the European part of the USSR and on the territory of our European allies will, as is known, be reduced over 2 years by 240,000 personnel, 10,000 tanks, 8,500 artillery systems, and 800 combat aircraft. During the same time there will be a substantial reduction (by 200,000 men) in the grouping of our troops in the eastern part and the south of the country (by 60,000 men)—above all by transforming a number of motorized infantry formations into machinegun and artillery formations, which, as is known, are earmarked only for defense. By agreement with the Mongolian Government three-fourths of the Soviet troops stationed on that republic's territory will return to the motherland. At the same time it is proposed to disband or reduce the combined arms formations among the troops being withdrawn. In addition, our entire air grouping will be withdrawn from the Mongolian People's Republic.

On the whole, the number of combined arms divisions will be almost halved as a result of restructuring the Armed Forces.

[Correspondent] Such a significant reduction of the Armed Forces places on the agenda many social questions, including those connected with finding jobs for the officers and ensigns being discharged and providing them with accommodations. How is it proposed to resolve them?

[Yazov] All social questions will be resolved in close contact with party and soviet organs and public organizations under conditions of broad glasnost and strict observance of the principles of social justice.

Of course, many tasks—complex tasks, too—are arising. For officers make up approximately one-fifth of the total number of personnel to be cut. The primary category of officers who will be discharged from the ranks of the Armed Forces will be those who have served for the prescribed time, have pension rights, and have accommodations available, and also those who were drafted for active military service for 2-3 years. We are counting on concrete assistance in fixing up discharged officers and their families on the part of local soviets and labor collectives, many of which will be supplemented by highly skilled and experienced specialists and knowledgeable workers who only yesterday were fulfilling their duty in the ranks of the Armed Forces. Over a period of 2 years the Ministry of Defense will for its part build more than 100 blocks with 60-80 apartments in various parts of the country for servicemen discharged into the reserve because of the reduction.

As for ensigns serving in units to be reduced, it is proposed to send most of them to make good the existing shortfall in this category of specialists in other formations, units, and establishments.

[Correspondent] Is there any possibility of the West monitoring [kontrol] the process of the reduction of our Armed Forces?

[Yazov] Our reduction decision was a unilateral one. It was not the result of negotiations or, as I have already stressed, any pressure at all. So legally its implementation does not involve any monitoring [kontrol] on the West's part. But we do not propose to carry out any reduction-related measures in secret. In fact, the intention is to invite representatives of the media, foreign media included, to cover the most important measures relating to the withdrawal of our forces and armaments from allied states, with the consent of their leaders. The plan is to invite them to the Soviet Union as well, to places where certain formations or units are being disbanded.

I would point out that this kind of openness has become standard practice with us. Journalists, including foreign journalists, have been to a Soviet intercontinental strategic missile launch site, for example, and visited a chemical troops training unit and the Shikhany military facility. Media representatives were also given the chance to visit other military facilities that had already been closed. The withdrawal of our forces from Afghanistan, which has been completed precisely in accordance with the Geneva agreements, also took place in an atmosphere of glasnost and openness.

In conclusion, I want to stress once again the fundamental importance of the USSR's decision to unilaterally reduce its armed forces in terms of improving the international political climate. This step expresses the will of the Soviet people, who are conducting the revolutionary restructuring of society. Dictated by the new political thinking, it is a real practical contribution to the cause of strengthening world peace. We will continue to follow this course undeviatingly, while mindful of our security and the security of our allies.

Poland Hosts European Disarmament Conference

PM2702143989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
27 Feb 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Conference at Polish Foreign Ministry"]

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Feb—The Polish plan for arms reduction and confidence building in Central Europe is an important and useful initiative in the process of disarmament and stabilization of the strategic situation on the continent.

This is the conclusion reached by participants in a scientific conference held at the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs 24-25 February. It was devoted to problems of ensuring stability in Europe and to the package of Polish arms reduction and confidence-building measures in the central part of the continent known as the "Jaruzelski plan." The conference was attended by scientists and experts from leading scientific research centers in Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, the GDR, Italy, Poland, the Soviet Union, Romania, Czechoslovakia, France, the FRG, and Sweden.

The interconnection between nuclear and conventional weapons was stressed at the conference. Much attention was paid to the need to review the military doctrines of the European states with a view to making them defensive.

Foreign Minister T. Olechowski met with the conference participants.

Brutents Discusses Regional Crises Policy

PM2302112089 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
16 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with Deputy Chief Karen Brutents of the CPSU Central Committee International Section by Janiki Cingoli conducted during a recent visit to Milan as guest of the local Italian Communist Party federation]

[Text] [Cingoli] The world's unity and interdependence, the transcending of the view of peaceful coexistence as a field of class conflict between opposing systems, the acknowledgement of the need for cooperation between different systems to resolve the critical problems facing mankind: These are the key ideas behind the new Soviet foreign policy. How are they reflected in your initiative to resolve the various regional crises assailing the world?

[Brutents] Mankind's global interests are the absolute priority. This idea was expressed particularly forcefully in Gorbachev's 7 December UN speech, of which it formed the backbone. We proceed from this approach also in dealing with regional conflicts. This implies, first, a consistent policy to resolve these conflicts, not to exacerbate them. It also means not exploiting these conflicts to gain advantages in the struggle between the two blocs, to extend our own sphere of influence, but proceeding instead from the real interests of the countries and peoples concerned, with a proper and balanced consideration of the interests of all the sides involved. In short, the scrupulous quest for a solution based primarily on fastidious respect for each people's right to choose their own path and to forge their own destiny without external intervention.

[Cingoli] Divorced from any kind of bloc's rationale?

[Brutents] Yes, a policy for resolving regional conflicts proceeding from the premise that their solution must lead to an improvement, not a worsening, of the world situation, everyone's security, and peace. A positive dialectic is created: The improvement of the overall situation facilitates the solution of regional conflicts. For the first time there are steps and movements in the right direction, and this in turn helps to improve the overall international climate. The other fundamental element in this approach is that the peoples and countries involved must be no longer passive, but active in these conflicts. Their interests, aspirations, and activities are necessary and must be acknowledged in the quest for solutions. Only their acknowledgement and respect can produce a real solution. Every regional conflict has its specific origins. If compromises are needed to resolve them, they must be acceptable to all sides so that they can subsequently be respected by all. They cannot be imposed. Where these principles are observed steps forward are made toward the solution of regional crises.

[Cingoli] This is a profound innovation with respect to the previous Brezhnevian approach.

[Brutents] Indeed, it's true. A new situation is being created. However, these principles must be adopted by all sides that can facilitate or obstruct a solution. It is they who in many respects determine the new situation. The previous situation was based on a rationale of force and blocs.

[Cingoli] You have now left Afghanistan. Following the Geneva accords on this conflict Gorbachev said that it could serve as a model, that it could be a first broken link in the chain of regional conflicts. Is that assessment still valid, and what is your appraisal of the situation?

[Brutents] What Gorbachev said has come about. The accord has served as a powerful stimulus and played a driving role in the solution of all the unresolved regional conflicts. You cannot separate from that impetus the movement that subsequently occurred in all the other situations, from South Africa to Cambodia and all the rest. Apart from this general impulse, the method behind our approach in Geneva—that is, the policy of national reconciliation—is also important. This policy has had an impact in other situations, such as Nicaragua, Central America, and even Cambodia: It is a real factor in many current negotiations. The situation in Afghanistan is complex. Unfortunately we cannot say that the other parties to the Geneva accord—the United States and Pakistan—have observed it adequately. It is for this reason above all that a political solution and national reconciliation were not achieved. So there looms over that country the prospect of further bloodshed—perhaps even more severe and acute. I cannot make any forecasts about the development of the situation.

[Cingoli] Is this policy of national reconciliation, on which you base the solution of regional conflicts, not applied to some extent also to certain East European countries?

[Brutents] Of course the situation is entirely different. However, here too there is a desire to mobilize all the national and patriotic forces to tackle the unresolved problems—as long as those forces respect the socialist option already adopted.

[Cingoli] The Middle East conflict is certainly the oldest, most deeply rooted, and most complex. You are among those who follow the problem most attentively. What is your perception of its possible developments?

[Brutents] Forecasts are risky, even when based on perceptions. Nevertheless, the Middle East conflict could be considered an indicator of the present situation, of the climate in international relations. This climate has changed inasmuch as some movement has been restored in this ancient and complex conflict. For the first time in many years real prospects for its solution have been created. No factor has remained unchanged. Even in the frozen stances of the Israeli Government there are elements of movement, as there are in that country's public opinion. According to a recent survey, 54 percent of those citizens said they were in favor of initiating negotiations with the PLO. A crucial role has been played by the Palestinian people's movement, with its great determination to resist, with its "invincibility," as displayed by the intifadah. Now it all depends whether those concerned succeed in imparting an additional impetus to this movement, in exploiting it to provide a political and organizational basis for a solution, proceeding toward the convening of an international conference. Otherwise this movement will not develop and will fade. This now seems to be the tactic of certain government circles in Israel, which are working in the hope of maintaining the deadlock. Nevertheless, it is clear that even if they do succeed in causing further delays, it will only be temporary, for a certain time. The dynamics of the situation will cause this resistance to diminish. All this places particular responsibilities on us European countries for facilitating the negotiations.

[Cingoli] Is it feasible that, just as the United States has taken steps toward the PLO, you will take initiatives to restore diplomatic relations with Israel?

[Brutents] The situation is not static; we do have contacts with the Israeli side; consular groups are at work; our foreign minister has met with Israeli's minister; and cultural relations are being increased, as are contacts for resolving emigration problems. We await further changes in the Israeli position and adoption by the Israelis of a constructive stance for the solution of the Middle East crisis. This could open the way to the full restoration of diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel.

UN Human Rights Session, Advances Viewed

PM2402102189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondent V. Bolshakov: "For the Sake of Man; Thoughts on the Shore of Lake Geneva"]

[Text] Geneva, February—Experienced people say that as a rule the most important international documents are worked out not at the conference table but in corridors. If that is so, then the corridors of Geneva's Palace of Nations can be considered a veritable laboratory for the elaboration of international agreements.

I was convinced of this again when I arrived in Geneva for the 45th session of the UN Human Rights Commission. Observing the unhurried talks of diplomats over cups of coffee and their walks through the palace's endless corridors and halls, listening later to my recordings of talks with them, and reading the texts of their speeches and the commission's official documents, I realized how complex and laborious is the dialogue under way here—a dialogue not simply between countries and continents but between different social systems. If only for that reason it does not always proceed smoothly.

The subject is human rights, which by their very nature should be universal and should not depend in their implementation on the absolute power of rulers or the tyranny of bureaucrats. It is this universality which is presupposed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, whose 40th anniversary the world community celebrated last year, and the international pacts on human rights and the conventions which protect them. Universality would seem to have been presupposed during the elaboration and then the signing and ratification of these pacts, adopted by over 90 states.

Nonetheless the question of how they are being observed and the "reservations, statements, notifications, and objections concerning the international pact on economic, social, and cultural rights and the international pact on civil and political rights and the optional protocols to it" were put on the agenda of the current session of the UN Human Rights Commission. Of itself the formulation is of some importance. It observes the essential condition of modern dialogue on human rights—the absence of confrontation. The question of all countries of the world acceding to these pacts is now being raised. The commission must ascertain what is preventing joint paths from being found to implement them everywhere.

The time when the question of human rights was for us something like a painful callus does not seem far away. Western diplomats never let slip a chance to attack it. We paid them back in kind. They talked to us of dissidents and we talked to them of discrimination against Negroes, of the unemployed and homeless. As a result, instead of mutual understanding "psychological warfare" was increasingly aggravated and humanitarian cooperation was replaced by confrontation.

The fact that international dialogue on human rights has now become more constructive and fruitful is largely explained by the fact that in the period since April 1985 the Soviet Union has placed this issue among its prime foreign policy concerns. We began by putting our own house in order. After the most odious instances and names had disappeared from the Western "book of remembrance" on "violations of human rights in the USSR," and as the democratization of domestic life in the USSR acquires a legal setting and our legislation is gradually brought into line with the international pacts and conventions we have signed, we have finally succeeded in Geneva in switching to a more specific talk about the expansion of humanitarian cooperation.

It is possible to tell from the 45th session's agenda how the world community sees it today. The agenda contains first of all, alas, the now traditional group of questions about gross violations of human rights in specific countries and regions: primarily in the occupied Arab territories, including Palestine; the question of human rights in Chile; and the report of a special working group of experts on violations of these rights in South Africa.

Quite recently, even when discussing such seemingly uncontroversial issues, Western delegations kept in a single front, sticking up for their wards. Recently advances have appeared even here. For instance, the West's traditionally prejudiced attitude toward the discussion of the Palestinian problem has changed. Not even the United States ventured to justify Israel's violations of human rights in the occupied territories. The denunciation of apartheid is increasingly less reminiscent of a ritual action. Now it is primarily a plan of specific measures of whose execution the UN experts notify the world community.

For years a certain stereotype was developed in our country regarding the problems of human rights. They were being violated "over there, in their countries." Any interest on the part of the world community in how human rights are being observed in our country were interpreted as interference in our internal affairs. Let us stipulate immediately that there was interference and it was not only honest people but also appropriately trained agents of the Western special services who acted in the role of fighters for rights. But citing the special services was not enough to assert that everything was in ideal order in our country as regards human rights.

When you talk with Soviet diplomats you are even surprised at the unfamiliarity of the question being raised—we really are seriously interested in exchanging experience which would help raise the defense of human rights and civil rights in the USSR to the highest world level. For instance, in Moscow last November the first seminar was held with the participation of experts from the UN human rights center. Talk indeed turned to international standards in this field which, alas, we do not always attain.

True, to this day you can sometimes hear traditional arguments in this connection: "But should we wash our dirty linen in public? What business is it of anyone's how we introduce order in our own house?" But these arguments, it seems to me, are based on a false understanding of patriotism. In our time you cannot promote a lag—either technological or legal—to the rank of national valor.

"The Soviets have their own pride," of which Mayakovskiy wrote and which should completely exclude ignorance on the matter of human rights. But which of us can boast that he studied in school the text of the 10 December 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights? The UN General Assembly last year resolved to launch a worldwide campaign to inform the public of human rights. The USSR intends to take the most active part in it.

The time has passed when international documents about these rights were "classified." The time has come for their painstaking study, for a kind of legal elementary education, which fully accords with the tasks of restructuring. After all, the main aim here is the formulation of a socially active Soviet person, his awareness of his own opportunities, guaranteed by law, to take part in the creation and functioning of a civil society and of his responsibility for it. Without this democratization, our country will be a hollow sound and will result in latter-day political Oblomovshchina [reference to eponymous hero of Goncharov's novel "Oblomov," who, despite good intentions, found it impossible to act].

The UN Human Rights Commission is not only an organ for monitoring and observing how people's basic rights and freedoms are being observed in the world. It is also an organ in which new international norms in the field of human rights are elaborated. So the convention on children's rights will finally be adopted at this session. The elaboration of new norms in international law is a process which is proceeding simultaneously with the assertion of already recognized norms.

Both are difficult matters. Without abandoning our ideological convictions, we do not impose them on our partners as the only acceptable ones. The only yardstick should be international law, which is universal. Only on this basis is it possible to create what is called "a single humanitarian space." This turn toward a "human dimension" in the dialogue on human rights is gradually leading to the rapprochement of our positions and those of the West on seemingly hopeless questions.

The eighth point of the agenda: "Problems connected with the right to an adequate living standard and the right to development" are being discussed. The development of international standards in this field is extraordinarily difficult although it is equally necessary for the socialist and capitalist countries. A working group of government experts on the question of the right to development has been working since 1981. And in its present-day understanding this right provides not only for the development of former colonial and dependent countries but also the all-around development of the individual.

And the "right to adequate housing"— the problem of communal apartments in our country and of the homeless in the United States is connected with this. Incidentally, the Americans were the first at the present session to accede to a resolution on this issue, which is also the result of dialogue in which we must proceed further and together seek ways of ensuring this right both in our country and in theirs. That is also the main task of the international year for providing housing for the homeless announced by the United Nations in 1987.

We now also view differently the "right to own property," enshrined in Article 17 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Now that cooperatives, the lease contract, and so forth are developing in our country, hardly anyone would assess the defense of this right exclusively as the West's desire to impose on the socialist countries the

principle of the defense of private property. Indeed, without respect for the right of "each person to own property both individually and jointly with others," joint ventures with capitalist firms will be unable to operate normally.

We are learning democracy. I think that only the politically infantile will understand this process as the Soviet Union learning from the West. We are using the experience of the West, especially as regards the defense of individual rights and liberties, while the West is borrowing our experience of social gains, of which we are rightly proud. Otherwise, in a world community where the principle of equality is unshakable and agreement or, as diplomats say, consensus, is vitally necessary, no accords are possible. After all, it is a case of the assertion of human dignity as the supreme value on earth. And that means the assertion of human life and the future of mankind.

*Belgium's Claes Discusses EEC Unified Market

WA1825008 4 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 18 Feb 89 p 3

[Interview with Willy Claes by An. Balebanov: "The Future Depends on Us"]

[Text] The plan to create a single unified market within the EEC by 1992 has elicited many arguments in the Western European nations themselves as well as beyond their borders. Letters come to the editors of SELSKAYA ZHIZN requesting descriptions of the formation process of this market, and how its creation will reflect on the development of our nation's international business contacts.

In Moscow recently was a delegation of the Belgium-Luxembourg economic union headed by Willy Claes, Belgium's vice prime minister, minister of economic affairs. On one day of his stay in the Soviet capital, he spoke to an audience of the School of Higher Commerce under the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations on the internal unified market of the EEC. A correspondent from SELSKAYA ZHIZN asked W. Claes to answer questions which interest our readers.

[Balebanov] In what do you see the necessity to create a unified market in the EEC? What does the idea itself mean?

[Claes] The European Economic Community is a grouping in which there are no quantitative limits on economic trade, yet nevertheless it consists of the individual national markets of 12 countries. But even the FRG market, the largest in the EEC in industrial production, is equal to only half the Japanese market or a quarter of the American market. Not a single one of the countries of the community is in a position to withstand competition with Japan or the United States. This is where protectionism springs up, introducing various sorts of trade obstacles. This cost the EEC 81.4 billion EKYu [European currency units] (EKYu equals 0.7 rubles).

The goal for 1992 is first of all an economic one: the creation of a single unified market as a path to the liquidation of the customs duties, and legal, technological, and tax barriers which have separated the countries belonging to the EEC.

Among these preserved obstacles is systematic verification of the means of transportation carrying goods across borders, which wastes much time. This, and a multitude of various norms of security and sanitation, also serve as barriers to practical commercial activity. Differences in tax systems lead to serious economic misalignments. Thus, standards and norms which are applied to various goods sometimes border on the absurd. For example, British chocolate products cannot be sold in other countries in the Community only because the latter have their own chocolate classification and grading standards.

In June 1985, the Commission of European Communities (CEC) published a so-called "white book" which contained 300 specific proposals aimed at the creation of a unified internal market within the EEC. At the present time, over 100 of these proposals have already been accepted in the form of directives. They provide for unification up to the tiniest detail of various national legislation.

[Balebanov] What results do you expect from the creation of this EEC unified market?

[Claes] According to the research conducted, the creation of such a market will lead, in part, to the "European dozen's" achievement by 1999 of a national economic growth rate of 4.5 percent; in the area of employment, an additional 2 million jobs and an improvement in the balance of payments will occur.

I want to add that good economic results can be achieved only within the framework of a single, integrated market with close mutual ties. Every one of the member-nations of the EEC is entrusted with the responsibility for its formation, and this is already a political question. In order to achieve political harmony, the "Common Market" countries must abdicate a part of their higher executive power, transferring it to the supra-national organs of the Community. To my mind, only in this way can the process of integration be directed constantly and effectively.

[Balebanov] Does the idea of an EEC unified market carry a threat to the economic interests of other Old World states?

[Claes] I do not think that a unified market will turn into a fortress of protectionism with regard to any third countries. In generating high business activity within the

EEC, it will acquire significance and bring everyone advantage. Upon sober reflection, can one imagine that the world market is really closed? There exists an economic logic leading inevitably to openness. I am convinced that a strong European Economic Community will help make international trade more dynamic. The political choice has already been made: There will be no protectionism. This aspect was underscored in a declaration adopted in December of last year on the island of Rhodes (Greece) at a session of the European Council of Communities at the heads of state and government level. A unified market creates beneficial opportunities both for the community's enterprises and foreign firms. Incidentally, the development of world economic relations after the creation of the unified market will also be implemented on the basis of both the Community's multilateral and bilateral responsibilities.

[Balebanov] What development of EEC-USSR relations can be expected, in your opinion?

[Claes] For a start, I would note that the trade exchange between the EEC and the Soviet Union barely reaches six percent of the Community's overall foreign trade volume, and gas and oil remain the primary items of this exchange. This does not coincide with the aims of the rapprochement of the East and West now taking place. The EEC and CEMA normalized their relations in June 1988. After this, the EEC concluded various trade agreements with Hungary and Czechoslovakia; now very constructive negotiations are being held with other CEMA nations, including the USSR.

Several aspects of the future collaboration between the EEC and your country range outside the framework of purely geographic borders, and their resolutions must be sought on the level of the entire continent. This relates, in part, to the defense of the environment. After all, acid rainfall threatens both your peoples and ours; the contamination of the Baltic Sea concerns us as well as you. The sphere of our mutual activity can also be expanded to the prediction and elimination of the consequences of major natural cataclysms and catastrophes caused by technological progress. The prospects for scientific-technical collaboration are also promising. First and foremost, I have in mind transportation and energy. It should be mentioned that economic collaboration is a basic instrument in developing new relations in the area of politics. The deep economic reforms begun in your country find support within the EEC. As far as the political dialogue between us is concerned, there is no need to demonstrate its necessity.

[Balebanov] How would you evaluate the idea of construction of a "common European house," proposed by the Soviet Union?

[Claes] This is a very attractive idea, since there is much in European history, culture, and geographic proximity to European countries which draws us closer. This idea is well received in your country thanks to the process of reform now taking place. We highly value that which we have already accomplished, including within the framework of the EEC, and we are definitely inclined to continue our efforts in this direction.

Yet we don't want to dissolve in a broad and disparate system. I see this idea as a "European village," ruled by good relations of friendship, collaboration, and mutual understanding. Everyone will know one another and get along, but each of the village's residents will nevertheless have his own home. With this, both sides must remain realists, understanding that for now we are at the beginning of a process which still has to be made irreversible.

In Europe, a promising economic collaboration is now binding our two systems. We must understand each other's interests and must proceed toward mutual concessions. We welcome the formation of joint enterprises between our firms and yours.

Western and Eastern Europe are beginning to establish trust and adjust to interaction. The success of the reforms taking place in both our system and yours depends not so much on concluding technical contracts or commercial deals as on improving relations among our countries, which will serve to create an expansive zone of peace and prosperity in Europe. The future is what we are able to accomplish today; it depends on us.

Belonogov Addresses Security Council on Mideast

PM2402153189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 Feb 89 Moscow Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent report: "Extreme Concern Expressed"]

[Text] New York, 18 Feb—The nonaligned member-states of the UN Security Council, which today resumed its discussion of the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories, have circulated a draft resolution expressing extreme concern at the continuing human rights violations resulting from Israel's present actions.

The nonaligned countries indicated the need to stop these actions, which are preventing the achievement of peace in the Near East, and put an end to the Israeli occupation. They proposed that the Security Council stress the urgent need to achieve a comprehensive, just, and lasting settlement—under the UN aegis—of the Near East conflict, of which the Palestinian problem is an inalienable part, and emphasize its determination to take action to achieve this aim.

Today's session was addressed by A.M. Belonogov, Soviet permanent representative to the United Nations, who said the Soviet Union condemns Israel's policy of terror, violence, and repression against the Arab population of the occupied territories. Tel Aviv's stubborn reluctance to abandon its methods of force and recognize that the Palestinian people have the same right as the Israeli people to decide their own future is seriously complicating the international community's efforts to achieve a comprehensive, just, and lasting peace in the Near East by convening an international conference. The Security Council cannot and must not remain indifferent to the acts of tyranny and lawlessness systematically carried out by the occupiers in the Arab lands. A source of particular concern is the fact that the present stage in the escalation of violence and repression has come at a time when real prospects for reaching a comprehensive Near East settlement have opened up for the first time in many years.

In this connection the Soviet representative indicated the broad international consensus in favor of achieving a comprehensive settlement by convening a conference on the Near East under the UN aegis with the participation of all sides involved in the conflict, including the PLO, and the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. Such an international conference would make it possible to realize the principle of ensuring a balance of interests of all the sides.

Presidium Accedes to Vienna Consular Convention

LD2402150889 Moscow TASS in English 1416 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 24 TASS—The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet took a decision, by its decree of February 16, 1989, of the accession of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to the Vienna convention on consular relations of April 24, 1963.

Supreme Soviet Ratifies Airport Security Protocol

LD2702163189 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet has ratified by its decree of February 20 the Montreal protocol on combating unlawful acts of violence in airports serving international civil airlines. The protocol, signed by the Soviet Union in Montreal on February 24, 1988, supplements the 1977 Montreal convention on combating unlawful acts threatening security in civil aviation.

U.S.-French Mediterranean Exercise Criticized

PM2302140789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian22 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Captain First Rank A. Yuryev under the rubric "Militarist Rehearsals": "Are They Rehearsing Seizure of Territories?..."]

[Text] The NATO camp is not ending its efforts aimed at associating France with the bloc's military measures. And although at the official level Paris does not tire of stating its reluctance to return to the NATO military organization, the facts, including events of the past month, speak for themselves. Thus, the newspaper LIBERATION has reported talks on France's association with the new NATO military air command and control system. As KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported, at approximately the same time a 10-day joint U.S.-French naval exercise codenamed "Finiya-89" was taking place in the Mediterranean.

In terms of the participants (over 30 warships including 3 aircraft carriers and up to 15,000 servicemen) and in terms of the scale of the primarily offensive tasks which were being resolved, these were the largest militarist rehearsals to be carried out jointly by the U.S. and French naval forces in recent years. According to foreign press reports, the aim of the exercise was the verification and practical rehearsal of plans for the joint use of the U.S. and French naval forces in the Mediterranean in so-called "crisis situations," by which NATO most often means military conflicts. It is usually the Soviet Union or some state of the region which steers an anti-imperialist course which is regarded as the hypothetical enemy in these games.

Questions of the formation and operational deployment of two strike aircraft carrier groups (their flagships are the U.S. multipurpose nuclear aircraft carrier the "Theodore Roosevelt" with 85-90 aircraft on board and the French multipurpose aircraft carrier "Clemenceau," capable of carrying up to 40 combat aircraft) and two airborne detachments—a U.S. detachment headed by the assault helicopter carrier "Guadalcanal" and a French detachment headed by the aircraft carrier "Foch" which operated in its assault mode with assault transport helicopters on board—were rehearsed at the start of the exercise in February. In addition, strike groups and hunter-killer groups consisting of destroyers and frigates were formed to support air defense, ASW [antisubmarine warfare], and other types of defense for the forces brought into operation in the sea. They collaborated closely with shore-based patrol aircraft and helicopters.

In accordance with the exercise's design the execution of an amphibious operation was one of the main matters rehearsed. The amphibious landing was carried out 6 February by the combined method using assault transport helicopters and water crossing equipment to reach the austere coast of the French island of Corsica. The air preparation of the landing region and immediate air support during the landing were ensured by carrier-based aircraft from the aircraft carriers "Theodore Roosevelt" and "Clemenceau."

During the operation 1,800 members of the assault force, including 700 U.S. Marines, 800 men from the French rapid deployment forces, and 300 men from French raiding and reconnaissance subunits were landed. With the taking of the bridgehead the assault forces set about rehearsing combat operations on the shore with a view to ensuring the landing of the landing party's main forces and expanding the bridgehead. When the landing party's main forces had been landed the chief attention was paid to rehearsing the actions which were being completed on shore. During the operation great attention was paid to rehearsing questions of reconnoitering and destroying the enemy's defenses ashore.

The "Finiya-89" exercise draws attention as France's latest step toward NATO and as concrete evidence of the training of the U.S. 6th Fleet, which is in the Mediterranean, in conjunction with the French Navy, for operations to seize foreign territories. The Arab countries of the Near East and North Africa quite reasonably see in these militarist rehearsals a direct threat to their security.

Nor can we fail to notice that the activation of NATO's war games in the region is taking place against the background of important Soviet peace initiatives—our proposals to withdraw the U.S. 6th Fleet and Soviet warships from Mediterranean waters with a view to reducing the level of the military presence in the Mediterranean. Thus, instead of normalizing the military-political situation in the Mediterranean, which is the aim of the USSR's policy, the NATO bloc is taking steps fraught with the danger of even greater fueling of tension.

Indonesia, PRC Restore Diplomatic Relations

PM2702101189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "They Have Reached Agreement"]

[Text] Jakarta, 24 Feb—Indonesia and China have reached agreement on restoring diplomatic relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. The Indonesian news agency ANTARA reports today that during the meeting in Tokyo on Thursday between Indonesian President Suharto and PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen the sides reached an agreement to take steps to normalize diplomatic relations which have been "frozen" since 1967 as a result of the "30 September 1965 events."

Romania's Ceausescu, Iran's Khamene'i Hold Talks

PM2702102189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[From PRAVDA-TASS-REUTER-AFP roundup dated 25 February under the rubric "From the Flow of News": "Favorable Prospects"]

[Text] Favorable prospects for the development of Romanian-Iranian relations were noted during official talks between President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i of Iran and President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania, which have ended in Bucharest. The mutual interest of the sides in further expanding bilateral cooperation came to light during an exchange of opinions. Touching on a settlement around Afghanistan, Khamene'i declared at a news conference in the Romanian capital that Iran advocates the peaceful evolution, without bloodshed, of processes in that country.

United States & Canada

Tower Confirmation Failure 'Fiasco' for Bush

PM2702124989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6

[Correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "First Fiasco. Bush Administration Has So Far Failed To Achieve Confirmation of J. Tower in Post of Secretary of Defense."]

[Text] Surprisingly early, only a month after taking power, the Bush Administration has started the list of its political defeats. Having spent all last Friday in closed and open sessions, the Senate Armed Services Committee rejected by 11 votes to 9 John Tower's nomination for the post of U.S. Secretary of Defense. Although in theory this is not the final decision on the fate of the presidential nominee—it will be taken by a vote of the entire Senate, to which the committee decision has been submitted—it is perfectly obvious that the prestige of the new White House incumbent has suffered a painful blow.

For a full 2 months, FBI agents, acting on orders from above, have been raking over Tower's private life, checking and rechecking every rumor, insinuation, and denunciation. Tower's 24 years in the U.S. Senate, including his years as chairman of the Armed Services Committee, were combed down to the smallest detail by the investigation machine. Tower, an old and close friend of Bush and his adviser on military-political questions during the election campaign, came under FBI scrutiny as a result of allegations spread here that he is "excessively fond" of alcohol and amorous attachments.

Strictly speaking, these claims are the formal basis of the decision taken after prolonged negotiations—open and backstage negotiations—by the Armed Services Committee.

Understandably, the claims about Tower's intemperance sound weighty enough for his nomination to be rejected. However, it appears that all this is just a convenient pretext. Bush's nominee has come under criticism from all sides. If the so-called liberals and centrists object to his conservatism and intransigence, the right wing, or rather the extreme right wing, is overtly unhappy at Tower's relatively moderate stance on the question of the elaboration and implementation of the "Star Wars" program.

Quayle Addresses Conference of Conservatives

Conservative Stances 'Outdated'

LD2602104789 Moscow TASS in English 1025 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Washington February 26 TASS—By TASS correspondents Igor Ignatyev and Nikolay Orekhov: A traditional annual conference of the United States' conservative organisations was held in the American capital. Leading representatives of that country's right-wing political parties attended this conference.

The current forum of U.S. conservative leaders was held in a political situation which is unusual for the majority of its participants—Ronald Reagan, around whom the American conservative movement, which on the whole is far from uniform, rallied in the past years, did not attend the conference for the first time in 15 years. As the rightist newspaper WASHINGTON TIMES put it, after Reagan left the White House, the conservative movement in the United States found itself without a leader and is conducting the quest for new goals meant to mobilise its participants.

Many speakers at the conference did not conceal general concern and anxiety over the deep impact the Soviet foreign policy and broad democratic transformations being effected in the USSR have on the world. Senator Jesse Helms, for instance, alleged that openness and perestroyka are meant to delude the public and lull everybody.

The key task before almost 300 delegates representing the main conservative organisations, whose deliberations in the Hilton Hotel lasted for three days, was to set up the agenda for the conservative movement in new conditions. Speeches by many of those who took the floor at the conference showed, however, that American conservatives continue to approach today's problems, above all those in the field of international security, from outdated positions.

The culmination of the forum was the remarks by U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle who, according to THE NEW YORK TIMES, assumed the role of an unofficial ambassador of the rightists in the administration.

Having found himself among like-minded politicians, Quayle, who is known for his conservative views, was utterly frank.

A comprehensive review of the United States' foreign policy strategies now conducted by the Bush administration "does not mean that somehow the fundamental principles of American policies", which were pursued in the past eight years, "is up for grabs", he said.

"The key principles of our national security policy remain intact", Quayle stressed. President Bush knows that "in dealing with the world, you can't rely on your adversary's goodwill. You've got to create pressures and incentives for responsible conduct". In other terms, to conduct the notorious policy of the stick and the carrot.

Among the key goals of the new administration Quayle named the Bush administration's commitment "not only to defense, but also to the extension of freedom around the world". It followed from his remarks that in practical terms this thesis means to maintain financial and military support for counterrevolutionary movements in other countries. Lashing out at the Sandinist government and not-named friends of Nicaragua in the United

States, the vice president stated that the White House was going "to insist on the continuation of humanitarian aid to keep the contras alive".

"In Nicaragua, as in Afghanistan, the Bush administration is not going to desert the cause of freedom", Quayle proclaimed. The United States, he said, "will continue to support Afghan self-determination and that such a goal requires the removal" of the present government in Kabul. None of the top-ranking administration officials has talked so frankly about the goals pursued by the Bush administration in Afghanistan.

Touching on other directions in the U.S. policy in the international arena, Quayle advocated once again "peace through strength". He reaffirmed the administration's commitment to the plans of "development and deployment" of a large-scale anti-ballistic missile system with space-based elements. "We're determined not to leave America undefended against the ballistic missile threat...Moving toward deploying SDI is defending America", the vice president said.

He also stated that the present administration was resolved to "press ahead with plans to modernise strategic and conventional forces" of the United States.

'Lecturing' on Freedom Decried

LD2702222889 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Askold Biryukov commentary]

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov:

Quite familiar pronouncements are now heard from Washington. U.S. Vice-President Dan Quayle, in his remarks at the annual Conservative Political Action Conference, said that the U.S. Administration "is committed not only to defence, but also to the extension of freedom around the world".

Telling it straight, one could hardly expect in earnest that, following the changeover in Washington, everything would be immediately tackled in a new way and that Washington would abandon the messianism being professed by influential circles.

Lecturing other peoples and teaching them how they should live is one of the principles of the philosophy of the American ultra-rightists. The present U.S. vice-president, as the American press described him, is an "unofficial ambassador of the rightists within the administration." His remarks are an added proof of this.

What kind of "religion" does Dan Quayle suggest that the administration should profess? What does he intend to save other peoples from? First of all, from the regimes which are unwelcome to the United States.

"In Nicaragua, as in Afghanistan, the Bush administration is not going to desert the cause of freedom", the U.S. vice-president said. He suggests that freedom be defended with the aid of U.S.-backed anti-government groups of Nicaraguan and Afghan armed opposition.

In a particularly frank way, Quayle set out his understanding of the administration's mission with regard to the Republic of Afghanistan. The United States, he said, "will continue to support Afghan self-determination" and that such a goal requires the removal of the present government in Kabul. Perhaps, not a single figure of the U.S. Administration has yet formulated so cynically the aim of overthrowing the government of a sovereign country.

The Washington-expressed support for the so-called interim government of Afghanistan, set up on Pakistani territory through the efforts of the patrons of the Afghan armed opposition, becomes understandable in the light of these pronouncements.

Realizing, however, that the "government" does not enjoy the backing of Afghan society and does not exercise the administration of the country, not to mention an ability to meet international commitments, Washington did not venture to recognise it officially. However, the aim has been set quite explicitly, and funds for attaining it have been allocated.

"The United States will continue to use Pakistan's intelligence services as the conduit for military aid to the Afghan rebels instead of sending it directly to the newly-formed government-in-exile, senior administration officials said", THE NEW YORK TIMES newspaper reported.

It is still surprising that nowadays ideological messianism still obscures the vision of Washington politicians, making them cling to erroneous views and approaches of the confrontation era.

Such approaches as the stubborn counting on force, on the imposition of one's own vision of the world upon others, and the denial of the freedom of choice always turned out to be untenable. They are the more untenable in our days when there is the need for orientation, not towards confrontation, but towards intensification of the political dialogue and negotiating processes which are capable of opening up ways to solutions of problems.

The Soviet Union, as has been shown by all its steps in the international arena, including the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, was bold enough to take a self-critical view of its own foreign policy, to heed the advice and criticism from other states and to draw practical conclusions in the spirit of the new political thinking which is being established in international relations. The world would only benefit if a similar approach triumphed in the United States.

U.S. Envoy Addresses Moscow Military School

Sees 'Positive Turn' in USSR Ties

LD2502191789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1830 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 Feb. (TASS)—The forthcoming unilateral reduction of Soviet armed forces is undoubtedly a constructive step toward the necessary balance of the NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces said Jack Matlock, U.S. Ambassador to the USSR. He spoke here on Friday to students of the Kuybyshev Military Engineering Academy.

"The positive turn in Soviet-U.S. relations came about quite recently, when the shoots of new thinking began to break through the hardened layers of stereotyped thinking," the ambassador noted. The historic INF Treaty stands in the most prominent place among the noteworthy milestones on the road away from the former confrontation towards the development of cooperation and mutual trust between the two countries. A vast amount of work has been done on working out an agreement on 50 percent reductions of strategic offensive weapons, and it is possible to hope for a successful conclusion to these talks, Jack Matlock stressed.

Several less well-known but no less substantive accords should not be left out of the list of encouraging direction finders, he added, for example, the agreement to set up a Soviet-U.S. working group on lowering and averting dangerous military activity and the agreement to exchange visits of military commanders of the USSR and the United States.

"However, even given all that has been achieved in the last 2 years, we still have a very long way to go to a genuine normalization of East-West relations," the U.S. ambassador stressed.

Questioned on U.S. Nuclear Policy

PM2702122789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Captain Second Rank V. Kocherov article: "From Confrontation to Trust"]

[Text] A meeting has taken place between professors, teachers, and students of the V.V. Kuybyshev Military Engineering Academy and U.S. Ambassador to the USSR J. Matlock.

In his speech the U.S. ambassador pointed out that the historic treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles holds the most prominent place on the path that we have covered from the former confrontation to the development of cooperation and mutual trust between our countries. It must also be said, the ambassador continued, that tremendous work has been done to formulate a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, and one may hope that the talks will end successfully.

We note the importance of the Warsaw Pact countries' statement saying that these countries have adopted a defensive military doctrine. This extremely reassuring statement was made almost 2 years ago. But since then we have waited for words to take the form of tangible actions. No, don't think, J. Matlock said, that my words underestimate the reduction in conventional arms and troops envisaged by the Soviet side. This is, indisputably, a constructive step toward attaining the requisite balance in NATO and Warsaw Pact armed forces.

The U.S. ambassador then voiced a positive opinion of the fact that data have been published on the correlation of forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. Here he voiced the well-known Western viewpoint that even after the reductions, the Warsaw Pact will still have the edge in conventional arms. In his speech J. Matlock also touched on questions of glasnost and secrecy in military affairs.

In conclusion he said that it gives him particular delight to speak within the walls of an academy with a long and glorious history, where his favorite writer Feodor Dostoyevskiy studied and where the renowned composer and professor of fortification Tsezar Kyui and the great scientist Dmitriy Mendeleyev taught. These remarkable people, like many of the academy's pupils, always upheld the lofty ideals of universal human dignity, reason, courage, and honor. We also remember, the U.S. ambassador stressed, the exploits of that outstanding alumnus and professor of the academy, the legendary general Dmitriy Karbyshev, and other energetic officers—our comrades-in-arms during the unforgettable years of our joint struggle against fascism. I would like to believe that the lofty traditions established by the outstanding people whose lives are linked with the academy will be continued in a fitting manner in present-day conditions. Today as never before we must display our understanding of the principles of the new thinking and help increase trust and normalize relations between our countries by actions rather than words.

Then J. Matlock answered questions.

Question: What is Americans' attitude toward the processes under way in the USSR? Does it coincide with yours?

Answer: The words "restructuring" and "glasnost" no longer need to be translated in our country. It cannot be said that all Americans are specialists on the USSR, but they are all interested in the changes in your country. You may ask why, insofar as the aim of restructuring is to build a stronger Soviet Union. But we reckon that any policy that can improve people's lives in any country will always be of general benefit. Americans wish you success and I fully share this viewpoint.

Question: You said that nuclear weapons play the role of a deterrent factor. However, at the same time you approve of nuclear weapons reductions. So are you in favor of retaining nuclear weapons or reducing them?

Answer: I am in favor of nuclear weapons reductions on a mutual basis. But I think that we both need to retain a certain number of these weapons as a deterrent factor until we create some sort of defense. Because otherwise you won't have any defense against any mad leader of any small country. For despite the fact that we are trying to limit the proliferation of nuclear weapons, this does and will occur. That is why I believe that we must retain a certain number of these weapons. However, it is clear that today we have more of these weapons than we need. We can reduce these weapons—substantially moreover. I believe that we can even reduce them by more than 50 percent.

Question from KRASNAYA ZVEZDA: How is one to understand the recent appeals from U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker to West Europe for the modernization of its tactical nuclear weapons at a time when the Warsaw Pact countries are unilaterally reducing their conventional arms and armed forces?

Answer: The question of the modernization of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe must be understood in the context whereby NATO countries some years ago began the process of reducing the quantity of their nuclear arms—if I am not mistaken, by 2,400 nuclear warheads. The remaining arms are becoming increasingly outmoded every year. They need to be replaced. But this must take place at a lower level than before. However, this question has not as yet been resolved. This is a question for the future. Today it is at present a question of whether we should prepare for such modernization or not.

U.S. Psychiatrists Begin Official Visit

LD2402130189 Moscow TASS in English 1107 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 24 TASS—American psychiatrists have begun their visit to the USSR, said Yuriy Reshetov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry's International Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights Directorate, at a briefing here today.

The U.S. psychiatrists will be able to see the psychiatric aid system in the Soviet Union, view the positive changes taking place in that area in perestroyka policy conditions.

Specialists from the United States and the USSR are expected to discuss topical psychiatry problems which are of mutual interest to scientists of both countries, said Yuriy Reshetov. He expressed the hope that the visit would promote development of professional contacts between Soviet and American psychiatrists.

Answering questions raised by an ASSOCIATED PRESS correspondent, Yuriy Reshetov said that a three-week-long trip had been organised by the U.S. Department of State, the USSR Foreign Ministry and both countries' health ministries. On agreement with the American colleagues it was decided not to divulge the details of the visiting psychiatrists' programme, since this visit is the first one of its kind, he said. Besides, this is called for by medical ethics.

A news conference of American and Soviet psychiatrists is planned to be held upon completion of the visit.

U.S. Interest in Business with USSR 'Growing'

LD2402144989 Moscow TASS in English 0839 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] New York February 24 TASS—by TASS correspondent Andrey Chitov

The U.S. business community displays a growing interest in trade and economic relations with the Soviet Union. The news received on Wednesday from the headquarters of the Pepsico Corporation and the American Management Association (AMA) is another of its manifestations.

Pepsico representatives announced that the company would open two restaurants "Pizza Hut" in Moscow in the next 12 months. They will operate as a joint Soviet-American venture. Pepsico will make an initial investment of some two million dollars, and its share in the venture will be 49 percent.

Now some 7,000 "Pizza Hut" restaurants with an aggregate turnover of nearly four billion dollars operate in 54 countries. Preparing for the entry of the Soviet market, the corporation's management was seriously contemplating the question of how to take into account peculiar features of the Russian cuisine in cooking Pizza. According to a Pepsico representative, the corporation faced this problem in other countries. Therefore, ham and omelette are spread over pizza in Australia, and various marine products are added to it in Japan.

But taste barriers, after all, can be overcome in establishing cooperation between Soviet and American partners. According to specialists, the main problem now is a shortage of information about each other. A new programme announced in New York by the American Management Association, one of the largest U.S. non-commercial organisations dealing with management problems, was drafted to resolve this task.

Under this programme, AMA will hold a series of seminars at the All-Union Foreign Trade Academy in Moscow. The first of them will be held next March on three topics: fundamentals of marketing, international marketing, and the use of personal computers in business. Topics of seminars will be expanded in the future. On their part, AMA's Soviet partners will receive American businessmen members of the association who will come on its recommendation to the USSR and will help them in establishing necessary contacts.

Lithuanian-United States Association Formed

LD2402070989 Moscow TASS in English 1722 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Vilnius, February 23 TASS—The Lithuanian-United States Association has been created at the Lithuanian Society of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries. Edmundas Juskis, editor-in-chief of the Mintis (Thought) Publishing House who worked in the U.S. in the 1970's was elected its president.

The association intends to maintain relations with American public organisations, organise joint seminars and meetings, exchange delegations of schoolchildren, students and people of various trades and professions. The assocation will help Americans visiting Lithuania to get a better idea of life in that Baltic republic, including its history and culture.

The assocation will organise a tour by a group of Lithuanian schoolchildren to Bel Air, Maryland early in March. They will attend school there together with American children for a month. At the same time, 15 American schoolchildren will go to Lithuanian school in Vilnius, capital of the republic.

Conversion of Defense to Civilian Output Urged

PM2702150289 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Blinov report: "Peaceful Conversion Bill"]

[Text] Washington—At the U.S. Congress session under way in Washington, a bill on measures to prepare sectors of military industry for switching to the production of civil output has been submitted.

Its author, Democrat Ted Weiss, member of the House of Representatives from a district of New York state, noted in reply to your correspondent's questions that the bill concerns a very complex problem. For both external and internal reasons, including financial reasons, the congressman said, we are faced with the need to cut military spending and terminate a number of military contracts. In this connection, some people could feel alarmed about the loss of jobs. We could avert such fears.

The proposed bill envisages the creation of a system of preparation for such situations, the drawing up of plans by military industry enterprises for the switch to the production of peaceful output, and, for those who lose their jobs because of the termination of Pentagon contracts, the payment of compensation, retraining, and placement in a new job. To this end, special funds should be set up, as well as employment committees made up of representatives of firms, local authorities, and trade unions.

It is a question of overcoming temporary difficulties for those who, by virtue of this economic restructuring, are forced to change their customary activity. In general, the congressman believes, the switch from military to peace production would mean a significant increase in employment in the country's economy. This is indicated by official calculations made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. A billion dollars invested in military programs provides 20,000 jobs. In some civil sectors the same appropriations could employ up to 70,000 people.

The existence of plans for switching military industry enterprises to peaceful production creates the necessary psychological preconditions for cutting military spending, T. Weiss went on to say. After all, if you remove local fears about possible job losses, the pressure on members of Congress to support military programs immediately lessens. Therefore, the congressmen will approach votes on arms systems solely from the viewpoint of their military expediency, and not in terms of how many jobs they could provide in industry. I think the system of preparing for peaceful conversion will work against the arms race and in favor of limiting military production.

I have been proposing the adoption of such measures, T. Weiss said, since 1977 when I first became a congressman. Of course, it is hard for new ideas to gain ground. But the interest in my ideas is gradually growing. Naturally, military-industrial corporations regard them coolly, even with fear. And conversely, trade union leaders see my ideas as the way to ensure employment independently of military appropriations.

In Congress, T. Weiss went on to note, there is growing support for my proposals. Last year, at the stage of introduction, my bill was supported by 60 members of the House of Representatives. This year the number of supporters of the bill has not yet been determined. I expect hearings to be held soon on the subject of peaceful conversion. James Wright, speaker of the House of Representatives, has spoken approvingly of my idea. However, I cannot be sure that the bill will be put to a vote this year.

George Kennan Cited on USSR's Restructuring

LD2402081389 Moscow TASS in English 0808 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] New York February 24 TASS—by TASS Correspondent Nikolay Maslov:

The Soviet leadership has implemented far-reaching changes in domestic and foreign policies over the last four years, a leading expert in Soviet-U.S. relations and former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union told TASS.

George Kennan, a prominent American diplomat, historian and author, said perestroyka in the USSR has made it clear that the situation in Soviet society is much more complex than anyone could ever imagine.

The country was severely damaged during the Stalin period and partially in the years of stagnation, he went on. It is now apparent that it will take much more time than expected to remove the distortions and give the Soviet economy a healthy foundation.

Kennan said he had no doubt that perestroyka was well-grounded theoretically but, he added, its implementation will take time.

Kennan said he did not know the plans of President Bush and his Administration with regard to Soviet-U.S. relations. But he expressed hope that the Administation will choose a policy that would best correspond to present-day realities.

He warned that old judgements and stereotypes are unacceptable in the current unprecedented situation.

Kennan pointed to the importance of solving such common problems as arms control and reductions in nuclear and conventional armaments. Progress in this field could prompt the United States to start analysing possibilities for cooperation in a number of non-military spheres.

Kennan attaches prime importance to cooperation in preventing an environmental crisis, a crisis which is beginning to threaten the whole world.

China

Bush, Deng Xiaoping Meet in Beijing 26 Feb

LD2602093589 Moscow TASS in English 0919 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Beijing February 26 TASS—Visiting U.S. President George Bush met chairman of the Chinese Central Military Commission in Beijing on Sunday [26 February], XINHUA NEWS AGENCY reported.

The American President said he had interesting talks with Premier of the State Council Li Peng. Bush noted that he had come to China at an interesting time and expressed his satisfaction with the fact that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was going to visit China soon. He called Gorbachev's visit a good thing.

Having regretted that Bush's current working visit was very short, Deng Xiaoping expressed the hope that the President would find appropriate time to pay an official visit to China.

Bush thanked Deng Xiaoping for the invitation.

Bush Talks With Officials Noted

PM2702161789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Report by own correspondent Yu. Savenkov: "President G. Bush in Beijing"]

[Text] Beijing—On 25 February U.S. President G. Bush arrived in Beijing at the invitation of PRC President Yang Shangkun and State Council Premier Li Peng. He was greeted at the airport by State Council Vice Premier Wu Xueqian and other officials.

At the VIP residence, the president was welcomed by State Council Premier Li Peng. The very fact that Bush is making the brief visit 1 month after he took office indicates the importance the new U.S. Administration attaches to Chinese-U.S. relations, the XINHUA agency believes. The President's visit is described here as a "working" one, in the true sense of the word. The list of problems, both bilateral and international, to be discussed with the Chinese leaders is rather long: world development trends, the political solution of regional problems (observers note that there could be an exchange of opinions on the situation in Afghanistan and Cambodia), and various aspects of the development of Chinese-U.S. relations.

The day before PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman Li Zhaoxing had called the visit a "major event." Assessing the development of links between China and the United States since the establishment of diplomatic relations 10 years ago as normal on the whole, he stressed that the Taiwan issue remains an obstacle to their future development. "China hopes to implement the idea of reunification on the basis of the 'one state-two systems policy." And the United States, naturally, can do something in this respect, the PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Foreign journalists based in Beijing note that continuing U.S. military supplies to Taiwan are causing concern here. Beijing believes that Chinese-U.S. trade and economic cooperation is bound to benefit if the United States relaxes the restriction on exports of modern technology to China.

In an interview the President granted to the XINHUA agency on the eve of his Asian tour, he noted with reference to the current state of U.S.-PRC relations that they are being built on a healthy foundation, that both sides must continue to improve these ties on the basis of the successes that have been achieved, and that both sides must make them even stronger. The U.S. President pointed out that the most important achievement in U.S.-Chinese relations is the fact that the two countries' governments have been conducting a serious dialogue on a wide range of bilateral and international problems, and that they have found many common interests.

We must continue the dialogue between the two countries' governments, G. Bush said, on such matters as world peace, regional conflicts in Asia and other parts of the world, arms contol, and the fight against terrorism and the spread of narcotics, and the fight against the manifold threats to the international environment. Touching on the Taiwan question, the U.S. leader noted that the United States recognizes that Taiwan is an important question for the government and people of China.

As a result of the efforts of farsighted politicans over recent decades, the U.S. President continued, our world has become a less troubled and less dangerous place. In this connection he voiced the hope that there would be substantial progress in all areas of disarmament. G. Bush welcomed the Soviet Union's recent decision to reduce conventional arms as a step in the right direction. As for the course of the Soviet-U.S. talks on reducing stategic arms, the U.S. President said that substantial progress has been made at them.

The idea that in our interrelated world national security cannot be safeguarded by military means alone is acquiring increasingly wide recognition today, G. Bush continued. I see a worldwide trend toward the wider recognition of the need to jointly tackle questions of universal interest, such as the peaceful settlement of conflicts, environmental problems, and securing global economic growth.

[Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 26 February in its Second Edition carries a similar report on Bush's XINHUA interview which at this point adds: "The U.S. President advocated a just solution to the regional conflicts in the Near East and Central America."]

Chinese People Awaiting Gorbachev Visit

OW2302023189 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] Dear listers, we now present a report by our Beijing-based correspondent, Babayan.

Recently, whenever I take part in some activities, visit some factories or organs, or talk to Beijing residents in the streets and shops, everyone says: The coming official visit to China by Soviet leader Gorbachev and his upcoming meetings with Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders are events of great political significance. We earnestly welcome these events.

Many Chinese people said: We eagerly await the coming visit of Gorbachev and his meeting with Deng Xiaoping because it is a meeting of historic significance. This meeting will mark the complete normalization of Sino-Soviet relations, with the relations between the two large socialist countries entering a new phase.

Zhou Guangzhao, president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, told Moscow radio:

[Begin Zhou recording] I think that after such a long lapse, the visit to China by the most senior Soviet leader to discuss issues of common interest to the two countries is a remarkable event. The Chinese and Soviet peoples have a long history of friendship. (?In recent years, a number of problems have stood between us). I hope that through the visit of Comrade Gorbachev, progress will be made in finding solutions to these problems. [end recording]

PRC Paper Cited on Chinese Reform 'Errors'

PM2102105589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Chinese Newspaper: View of Reform"; Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 20 February in its first edition, and in an article whose text is identical, carries the headline: "Chinese Newspaper on 'Mistakes in Process of Reform'"]

[Text] Beijing, 19 Feb—Have mistakes been made in the process of the Chinese reform? What is the right way to regard them? The difficulties and problems that have occurred in the PRC's economic life in recent years, causing concern to the people's masses, JIEFANGJUN BAO writes today, have given special topicality to this theme.

In the decade since restructuring [perestroyka] began, the newspaper believes that no major errors have occurred, although a number of mistakes have indeed been committed. They include primarily the failure to understand the length and great complexity of the reform and its phased and gradual character. The broadening of the rights and independence of the regions and enterprises was not accompanied by the appropriate and prompt improvement of macrocontrol. A mechanism to "regulate personal incomes" so as to prevent injustice in distribution was not formed in the process of realizing the principle of distribution according to labor and eradicating wage leveling. The mistakes made in the process of the reform are "mistakes in the implementation of concrete measures and steps but are absolutely not errors in the choice of basic direction." Compared with the colossal successes of the reform, these mistakes are "temporary and local in character." The difficulties that the national economy is experiencing—considerable inflation, inordinate price increases, and injustices in distribution—are linked with the mistakes made in the restructuring process. Nevertheless, the whole burden of responsibility for the present economic problems should not be placed on them.

Errors in the course of reform are inevitable, the newspaper believes. By its essence a reform is a new social revolution and a vast experimental test bed where there are no ready answers or approved precedents. In today's world restructuring has become the general trend. Both our own and foreign experience show that it is only by following the course of reform that socialist countries are gaining an opportunity to develop their production forces and improve the people's life while demonstrating the advantages of the system. The problems occurring in the course of the reform, including the mistakes, JIEFANGJUN BAO concludes, can be overcome only on the basis of an all-embracing deepening of the reform.

Science Academy Heads on Expanding PRC Ties

PM2402131589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch under the rubric "Information for Businessmen": "Dialogue Between Academies"]

[Text] Beijing—A representative delegation of the USSR Academy of Sciences headed by President G.I. Marchuk spent more than a week in China at the invitation of Zhou Guangzhao, president of the Chinese Academy of Science.

Two agreements resulted from this fruitful visit. The first is devoted to the main areas of scientific cooperation between the two academies for the period through the year 2000. The second is devoted to organizational problems of direct cooperation between the two countries' scientific establishments. The sides also deemed it necessary to create a bilateral commission for the efficient coordination of joint work on new forms of cooperation.

As is known, ties between Soviet and Chinese scientists have been successfully restored in recent years and have achieved particularly noticeable results in the spheres of electronics, computer equipment, biotechnology, and geochemistry.

"Ties are being restored fruitfully," Academician G.I. Marchuk told your correspondent. "However, although the level of contacts was quite high, it nonetheless strikes me as understated and not in accordance with our potential. I consider the priority areas to be most important. We have things to offer each other, and as you know, the pooling of efforts gives better results. The agreements signed create a legal basis for the broad involvement of academy institutes in direct cooperation. We are all working to strengthen Soviet-Chinese cooperation and to renew our relations. This is a favorable time for this, for the summit meeting is not far off. We also want our work to contribute to its preparation."

"The arrival of a delegation of Soviet scientists," President Zhou Guangzhao declared, "is a big step on the path of developing our cooperation. I believe that China still remains a developing country, and the level of science associated with the general state of the economy is still low, although we have made progress in recent years. I share President Marchuk's thoughts with regard to pooling efforts. This accelerates the development of international science and the resolution of the tasks facing our countries."

Replying to a question about the significance of the upcoming Soviet-Chinese summit meeting, President Zhou Guangzhao said: "Of course M.S. Gorbachev's coming to China is a very good thing. Friendship has long existed between our peoples, and history bequeathed it to us. It is true that problems arose between us some time ago; there were various reasons for this. I hope that the summit meeting will play an important role in resolving these questions. And there will always be peace and good-neighborly relations between our countries."

Cooperation Accord With PRC Prefecture Signed

OW2402170889 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] An agreement was signed on 20 February between Heilongjiang Province's Daxinganling Prefecture and Chita Oblast's Mogochinskiy Rayon on labor services and economic and technical cooperation. Under the agreement, Daxinganling Prefecture will send experts and technicians to help Mogochinskiy Rayon grow greenhouse vegetables. The two sides will also jointly construct a brewery with an annual capacity of 10 million metric tons.

Northeast Asia

U.S. Nuclear Weapons 'Secretly' Sent to Okinawa

OW1902021389 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] According to a TASS dispatch from Tokyo, the United States has secretly deployed nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons, along with units responsible for handling these weapons, to Okinawa. Most of the U.S. military facilities based in Japan are concentrated on Okinawa. This deployment was disclosed by Diet member Tanosuke Narazuki of the Democratic Socialist Party in his remarks at a House of Representatives session on the evening of 17 February. In his questions at a session of the House of Representatives Budget Committee, Diet member Narazuki pointed out that U.S. Marine Corps units deployed to Okinawa were organized to be ready to use these massive weapons. Diet member Narazuki presented a 1988 telephone directory for U.S. military units stationed on Okinawa, which he had obtained, to other members of the Diet. The directory included the names of units that have undergone training for using nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. Diet member Narazuki then asked the government to investigate this matter.

Arrest of Daikin Cocom Offenders Condemned

OW2402110789 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Commentary by foreign affairs commentator Nikolayev]

[Text] On 20 February, the Japanese police arrested two executives of Daikin Industries, Ltd. Radio Moscow's foreign affairs commentator Nikolayev wrote the following commentary on the causes of the incident:

The two executives were accused of exporting a particularly pure chemical compound to the USSR from 1986 to 1988 in violation of Cocom rules. According to the Japanese Government's view, this chemical compound might have been used in devices like missiles. The action taken by the Japanese Government against Daikin runs counter to the overall positive changes in the world as a whole and the recent favorable trend in Soviet-Japanese relations, which has been achieved after laborious efforts.

Last year was a noteworthy year in which positive signs in Soviet-Japanese political dialogue have been applauded, and in which bilateral cooperation, contacts, and exchanges in various fields have expanded. The scale of business relations has also expanded. The volume of commodity transactions between the two countries increased by 20 percent, and annual trade volume also increased by 25 percent. Seven joint ventures with Japanese companies have also been set up in the USSR. This has all been considered evidence of both countries' interest in expanding cooperation and enthusiasm in searching for new ways of advancing cooperation.

However, certain sectors in Japan have been observed to consider such developments in Soviet-Japanese relations to be undesirable. By all indications, they seem to wish to place artificial obstacles in the path of the development of Soviet-Japanese relations by using farfetched pretexts. Even official U.S. sources would admit the Toshiba incident's abnormal nature. Nevertheless, at long last, it looked as if the ramifications of the Toshiba controversy had passed away. However, at the same time, preparations for a new anti-Soviet farce were again under way. However, have these people who cook up such plots ever thought about how much harm they inflict on relations between our two countries?

Japan's Recruit Company 'Scandal' Examined

OW2302003589 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Text] Following are excerpts of a PRAVDA article by Tokyo correspondent Latyeshev on the Recruit financial scandal that is under investigation:

Political tensions in Japan are running high, and this is caused by a financial scandal involving the Recruit Company. In the course of investigations, the political world, particulary the government and the ruling LDP [Liberal Democratic Party], are found to be linked to large-scale corruption. The Recruit Company, an information company, and its subsidiaries have been engaged in bribing government officials and politicians. Many influential Diet members in the cabinet and the LDP are found to have had links with this corruption. Diet members involved in the corruption purchased the Recruit Company's shares at bargain prices through the company and earned tens of millions of yen in profit by selling them at high prices at the securities trading market. In return for these bribes, the government agencies have provided the Recruit Company with various favors. A few days earlier, former Recruit Company Chairman Ezoe and seven others involved in this financial scandal were arrested. A former Labor Ministry vice minister and Education Ministry vice minister, who are all under investigation in connection with the financial scandal, are likely to be arrested.

At present, leading government officials and their secretaries are known to have been engaged in the insider trading of the Recruit Company's shares. Consquently, three cabinet members have resigned. As the corruption of the government and the ruling LDP has come to light, the public has increased its criticism. This criticism was reflected in the outcome of a House of Councillors by-election in Fukuoka. In that election, the JSP [Japanese Socialist Party]-backed candidate defeated the LDP-supported candidate. From the outset of the 114th ordinary session of the Diet, the opposition parties denounced the corruption of government officials and pressured the Takeshita cabinet. In the Diet, the opposition parties also called for the resignition of the LDP cabinet and general elections before the expiration of the term. In particular, JSP Chairwoman Doi and JCP [Japanese Communist Party] Secretary General Kaneko are issuing these calls at the session of the House of Representatives. However, the power relations between the ruling and opposition parties in the Diet, where the LDP holds the majority of seats, make it difficult to honor the opposition's requests. The investigation into the Recruit Company is under way. However, it cannot be predicted what the investigation will unveil in the future.

Defensive Nature of Pacific Fleet Emphasized

OW1802023589 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 16 Feb 89

[Kalinin commentary: "Is the Soviet Pacific Fleet Defensive or Offensive?"]

[Text] NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN reports that the Japanese Defense Agency [DA] seems to hold that the scheduled Soviet troop reduction may possibly bring about a future expansion of the Soviet Pacific Fleet. In this context, Radio Moscow military observer Kalinin writes as follows:

As for the Japanese DA's prediction, I can only feel puzzled because I cannot understand why such a thing would result. Let's start by reviewing things: It is not true that the Soviet Pacific Fleet has only strengthened its structure during the past 5 years. Actually, it has also taken measures to reduce as many as 57 vessels during the same period. Furthermore, the Soviet Union has taken unilateral measures to limit maritime military activities in the Pacific. Particularly in recent times, the Pacific Fleet has limited its exercises to the waters adjoining the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan, as well as the waters along the coastal areas of the Kamchatka Peninsula. During these exercises, no damage will be done to anything within the territories of other countries. In this connection, it should be emphasized that many measures taken by the Soviet Pacific Fleet to prepare for action are defense-orientated.

All this was officially stated last December by Admiral Chernavin, commander in chief of the Soviet Fleet. I would like to add that on my very recent visit to a number of vessels belonging to the Pacific Fleet, I felt that I could fully understand such a situation.

When these facts and the scheduled large-scale reduction of Soviet troops are taken into consideration, is it not utterly absurd to think that the Soviet Union might, by chance, change its mind and once again start its Pacific Fleet buildup? Moreover, in his speech in Krasnoyarsk last autumn, Soviet leader General Secretary Gorbachev made a proposal to the major military powers in the Asia-Pacific region to not expand naval strength in the region. A proposal was also made to hold talks on first freezing and then reducing naval forces in the seas near the coasts of the Soviet Union, China, Japan, the DPRK, and South Korea. For this reason, the Soviet Union is willing to study multipurpose measures for restricting the fleet's dangerous actions. This is particularly true in the following case: Naval activities should be prohibited in international straits where ships of various nationalities pass, as well as in sea-lanes or fishing grounds where many ships will pass; vessels armed with nuclear weapons should be allowed to navigate only through the areas where nuclear weapons will not cause damage to others; and areas where landing units can be deployed should be limited.

It is regrettable that no positive responses to all these proposals have been heard from the United States and its allies, particularly Japan. On the contrary, as we have noticed, an attempt has been made to speculate on nonexisting Soviet intentions concerning the Pacific Fleet. In other words, there is once again enthusiasm for fabricating the notorious Soviet threat.

Meanwhile, it will be useful to remember the following facts: Speaking of the United States alone, it is proud of being 3 times as strong as the Soviet Union in the Pacific, by 3 times in [words indintinct], by 8 times in various types of nuclear-powered submarines, and by over 10 times in carrier-borne aircraft. To this must be added the powerful naval strength of both Japan and South Korea. An apparently unfavorable imbalance against the Soviet Union does exist.

Various speculations about the Soviet Pacific Fleet have been created. Under such circumstances, the attempt can be explained merely as the intention of the United States and its allies to divert public attention from the realities of the situation for the purpose of maintaining their military superiority in the Pacific.

Lukyanov Receives Japanese Aid for Quake Victims

PM2702153389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Aid to Armenia"]

[Text] Tokyo, 24 Feb—Japanese schoolchildren have lent a hand to the children of distant Armenia who suffered during the devastating earthquake. Hundreds of children, including some who are orphans or invalids themselves, have donated their modest savings for this noble purpose. The moving ceremony in which the gift from the Japanese youth was handed over to their Armenian counterparts was held at the Soviet Embassy in Japan. On behalf of Japanese children, Misato Shimizu, a Tokyo schoolgirl, presented the funds to A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who is currently here. She also presented a letter addressed to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Gen Sukhorukov Attends DPRK Award Ceremony

PM2402142389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Academy Receives DPRK Order"]

[Text] For services to the development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the DPRK and Soviet Armies, for training military cadres for the Korean People's Army, and in connection with its 70th anniversary, the M.V. Frunze Military Academy has been awarded the Order of Freedom and Independence, 1st class, by a decision of the DPRK Central People's Committee.

A ceremonial meeting devoted to Soviet Army and Navy Day and the presentation of the DPRK award was held at the academy on 21 February.

Those present were addressed by Kim Hui-su, DPRK charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR. He attached the order to the academy's battle banner.

The award presentation ceremony was attended by Army General D.S. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy minister of defense for cadres, and also Major General Kim Hak-san, military, naval, and air attache at the DPRK Embassy in Moscow.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Outcome of 2d Jakarta Forum on Cambodia Viewed

4 Parties Urged To Widen Contacts

PM2702124089 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent B. Vinogradov report: "The Cambodia Problem After Jakarta"]

[Text] Hanoi—The response to the work of the second informal meeting on the Cambodian problem in Jakarta continues to resound in the capitals of the Southeast Asian countries. The stream of commentaries and political reviews on the results of the forum is not dying down but increasing as visits, press conferences, and bilateral exchanges of opinions take place between the participants in the recent meeting.

SRV Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach made a high-speed tour of a number of ASEAN countries after Jakarta—Singapore, Brunei, and Malaysia—where, the agencies note, the settlement process that has begun "underwent further concretization and enlargement." PRK head of government Hun Sen also held a series of talks with colleagues from neighboring states. And, speaking of his impressions, he expressed confidence as to the need to continue informal dialouge at this level in July of this year. Judging by the reactions of representatives of Thailand, Indonesia, and other countries, the second Jakarta meeting was a crucial event in the quest for ways to resolve the conflict situation over Cambodia and it marked undoubted progress compared to the previous round.

If you consider the results of the first and second rounds, which were separated by 6 months or so, even a comparison of the points on which the sides reached an accord offers grounds for speaking of success. An important declaration among the "key features" at the first meeting was the agreement on the need to withdraw Vietnamese troops from Cambodia and create guarantees against the restoration of the Pol Pot regime. On the basis of consensus, that is, unanimity, another important feature was added to this. The sides consider it necessary to link the schedule for the withdrawal of troops to the schedule for the ending of military aid to all the opposing factions in Cambodia. In other words, all these measures—the withdrawal of troops, the creation of guarantees, and the ending of military aid—should take place as a package, within the framework of the general process of a political settlement, under effective international monitoring.

The 19-point joint statement adopted in Jakarta contains concrete proposals, in particular for an immediate cease-fire, the phased total withdrawal of Vietnamese troops by 30 September 1989, the formation of an international observers commission, and further talks at various levels on all the questions touched upon. Of course, the concluding document is not regarded as strict guidance for action. It only represents the intentions of the sides, which showed the desire to eliminate the conflict. Additional consultations still have to be held on all the individual issues in order to clarify time scales, figures, and the formula and procedure for a settlement.

Here particular significance will be attached to the process of resolving the internal aspect of the Cambodian problem. It was again stressed in Jakarta that national reconciliation is a matter for the Cambodian people themselves, who will determine their own future and political system through the free democratic expression of will. General elections should be held in Cambodia under international monitoring, and a government will be formed on the basis of the results. Approximately the same plan was proposed by Hun Sen, but was rejected by representatives of the three opposition groupings. They came out in support of Sihanouk's demand for the dissolution of the PRK Government as a preliminary condition of normalization.

The absurdity of these demands is obvious to anyone following the development of events in Cambodia. A legitimate government elected by the people and exercising full power in the PRK is hardly likely to lay down its powers solely because the opposition insists. Compromise is another matter. Hun Sen called for the formation of a quadripartite national reconciliation commission headed by Sihanouk as an interim organ for the resolution of the existing problems—ending the civil war, organizing the elections, and so forth.

It was decided to examine the continuing disagreements on these questions at future talks between the four Cambodian factions, which are to continue the dialogue and inform Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, chairman of the Jakarta meeting, on its progress.

While taking into account the particular urgency of internal problems, SRV representative Nguyen Co Thach noted that the process of settlement of the external aspect—smoothing out relations between the countries of Indochina and ASEAN and preparing the conditions for creating a zone of peace and cooperation in Southeast Asia—should not stand still. The widening of all-around contacts between neighboring states can only promote the development of the trend toward mutual understanding in the region.

Parties Urged To Seek Consensus

OW2402171189 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 22 Feb 89

[(Gifimov) commentary]

[Text] Over the past few days, the public in the Asia-Pacific region has been paying attention to the multiparty informal meeting on the Cambodia issue held in Jakarta. From 19 to 21 February, delegates of the PRK, the Cambodian tripartite opposition party, and the foreign ministers of Vietnam, Laos, and the ASEAN countries have discussed questions concerning mediation in Cambodia. On the appraisal of the results of this informal meeting in Jakarta, please listen to our station commentator (Gifimov's) commentary:

The first informal meeting was held last October. Its major results were that the meeting participants agreed that the key to the question of mediation lies in Vietnam's withdrawal from Cambodia and in not allowing the Pol Pot genocidal clique to stage a comeback. In addition, the meeting stressed that all foreign forces must stop interfering in Cambodia's internal affairs. Since the first Jakarta meeting, many efforts have been made in the international arena to solve the Cambodia issue. It must be pointed out that China has started a dialogue with Vietnam, and so has the PRK with Thailand. Also, the Soviet Union and China have held talks. In these dialogues and talks, all countries have proposed that political means be adopted to solve the Cambodia issue in a just way. Therefore, observers noted, the atmosphere at this informal meeting was even more friendly and constructive than that at the previous meeting.

Has the Jakarta meeting brought the stands of all parties in confrontation close to each other? This is a question that most interests people who are concerned about the situation in Cambodia. It should be pointed out that the solution to the Cambodia issue depends, first of all, on the Cambodians themselves. Those who attended the Jakarta meeting said differences still exist between all parties in Cambodia. According to Indonesian President Suharto, who attended the meeting, delegates of all parties in Cambodia who ride in different cars on different roads are marching in the direction of peaceful mediation. This is right. Indeed, different parties in Cambodia attending the Jakarta talks have different political ideologies and allies and, accordingly, hold different political points of view. Therefore, the struggle against the Pol Pot clique's staging a comeback must be most acute, and it is understandable that Hun Sen, head of the Government of the PRK, insists on disarming the Khmer Rouge.

Under these circumstances, it is very important that all parties take a responsible, constructive stand. I believe the PRK delegation in Jakarta has taken such a stand. The opposition party calls for disbanding the Government of the PRK and establishing a provisional coalition government before the general election. The delegation of the PRK, however, again proposes that a national reconciliation committee, headed by Sihanouk and joined by all parties in Cambodia, be established. This independent organization can have the power to institute a new constitution and organize elections. The International Observation Committee should extend help to this committee. Hun Sen, head of the PRK delegation, added: We welcome the reaching of international and domestic agreements on mediation. He pointed out: Following political mediation, the Vietnamese Army will completely withdraw from Cambodia before this coming September.

Hun Sen also said: Those countries that extended military and other aid to Pol Pot elements have made contributions to preventing the Pol Pot clique from staging a comeback. Just as Indonesian Foreign Minister Alatas has declared, the final statement of this Jakarta informal meeting says: The meeting participants hope the parties of Cambodia in confrontation will have a dialogue and that their stands will become close to each other within 4 months or a shorter period. Its prerequisite is the progress made in international circles on mediation for the Cambodia issue. For instance, the meeting participants agreed that Vietnam will complete its withdrawal before 30 September 1989. Foreign forces should, at the same time, stop supplying Pol Pot and other opposition parties with military aid and not interfere with the PRK's internal affairs. All this convinces people that all parties in Cambodia can apply a reasonable approach to solving the Cambodia issue.

New Thai Stand on Cambodian Refugees Praised

BK2802111389 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Aleksandr Nikolayev commentary: "A New Stand"]

[Text] The representative of the Thai Army commander stated that the Thai Government was implementing preparations for the repatriation of Cambodian refugees.

Our commentator, Aleksandr Nikolayev, has this to say:

True, this step constitutes further evidence showing the new stand of the ruling circles in Thailand regarding the settlement of the Cambodian problem.

According to the record of the United Nations, there are now nearly 300,000 Cambodian refugees in Thai territory. Most of these refugees are Cambodians who left their homeland in the times of the genocidal Pol Pot regime. Others are those who were herded from Cambodia and forced to become refugees in Thailand by the Polpotists during their flight. In concentration camps placed under the supervision of the Polpotists, refugees are most savagely persecuted and used by the Polpotists for their brutal political ends.

Norodom Sihanouk, leader of the Khmer opposition groups, has on many occasions admitted that the Khmer Rouge tortured and executed people without trials. They take refugees to unknown destinations, and no one knows about the fate of the victims of their violent acts.

Personnel of Western humanitarian aid organizations revealed that the Polpotists have robbed them of foodstuffs and consumer goods destined for refugees in the camps. The Polpotists have forced young men and young girls to join them in conducting subversive acts against the PRK.

It is evident that the presence of Cambodian refugees in Thailand constituted no small burden for the authorities of that country. Nevertheless, for quite some time, the Thai authorities refused to make any positive response to the Cambodian leaders' appeal for help in refugee repatriation. A change of position has emerged since the government of Chatchai Chunhawan came to power in Thailand and took the path toward improving relations with its Indochinese neighbors.

The Cambodian refugee question was raised during the visit to Bangkok last January by Comrade Hun Sen, head of government of the PRK. The Cambodian leader told journalists in the Thai capital that the Cambodian authorities were ready to welcome back the refugees and hoped the Thai side would assist them in the repatriation effort.

It is now obvious that Bangkok has decided to meet its counterpart halfway. The overall Cambodian situation, particularly the prospects of all Cambodian parties coming to an agreement, the possibility of a full withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer troops from Cambodia in September, and the possibility of ending military aid to the Polpotists have also contributed to this cause.

The representative of the Thai Army commander stated: The Thai Government wants to implement a new policy on Cambodian refugees in order to avert Khmer Rouge human rights violations in refugee camps and prevent the armed units of the Khmer opposition groups from employing civilians in military operations. Now the Thai authorities have taken measures to separate the armed units of the Khmer opposition groups from the civilian population in the refugee camps. It is to be noted that it was the PRK Government that proposed that such a measure be taken.

People have speculated in Bangkok that Thailand and Cambodia may reach an agreement on the repatriation of refugees within the framework of a political solution to the Cambodian problem.

U.S. Continues to Modernize Clark Airbase

HK2102054989 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 20 Feb 89

[Viktor Vladimirov commentary]

[Text] Here is a commentary by our analyst Viktor Vladimirov:

It has recently been learned that the United States is continuing to modernize its military air base, Clark Field. It is doing this in spite of the fact that the treaty covering the American military bases ends in September 1991. What is Washington calculating? Under the existing agreement, the treaty on the bases cannot be extended. However, this does not preclude the drawing up of a new agreement. It is clear that the United States is pinning its hopes on a gamble. They want Manila to sign a joint treaty, like those with Spain and Turkey, which will allow the Pentagon to keep its facilities in the Philippines.

This was the topic of discussion between Philippine officials and two American Senators, Cochrane and Lugar, who recently visited Manila. At the same time, Philippine Ambassador to the U.S. Pelaez disclosed the possibility that American and Japanese banks may pay a portion of the Philippine foreign debt, if the administration of Corazon Aquino agrees to let the U.S. military bases remain in the country after 1991. In his remarks, which were made privately, the ambassador emphasized that this agreement would be made in exchange for the bases' retention; however, he did not say who broached this idea and who would be responsible for its implementation.

Not long ago, the speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the Philippines, Ramon Mitra, said that such an agreement might be worked out. The so-called mini-Marshall plan, involving a large amount of financial assistance for the Philippines, was also discussed. All this would be in the interests of the United States, since it would mean the retention of their military bases in the country.

This is extremely important to the Pentagon because this will allow America to control militarily the entire Southeast Asia region. The Pentagon is now doing this, not just by means of its warships and fighter planes based in Subic Bay and Clark Field, but also by beefing up its troop deployment capability. As is well known, Washington has specially developed its forces for swift deployment to meet any eventuality anywhere in the world. Occasionally, Washington declares that its military facilities in Guam, Micronesia, and Japan are capable of taking over the functions of their military bases in the Philippines. Washington has also said that removing the bases from the Philippines would cost from $2 billion to $8 billion.

An article in THE WASHINGTON POST states that the military bases in the Philippines are unique, and that moving those facilities to another venue will result in a reduction in the potential power of the United States Armed Forces in Southeast Asia. It is no secret that the Pentagon's facilities in the Philippines service American warships and fighter planes that are deployed not just in the Pacific but also in the Indian Ocean. It should not be forgotten that Washington, as in the past, is keenly interested in the success of the Strategic Defense Initiative. The Pentagon's facilities in the Philippines play a big role in America's Star Wars. Washington's wish to keep its military bases in the Philippines clearly shows why the United States has not responded to the Soviet proposal to remove the bases in the Philippines in exchange for the removal of the Soviet logistical supply base at Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam.

During the past years, administrations in Washington have considered the Soviet logistical supply base as a large military base that needs to be counterbalanced by America. There is no doubt that as the military base agreement between the U.S. and the Philippines draws to a close, pressure on Manila will increase. While the diplomats dialogue, military men will continue to set up new landing and take-off strips, hangars, and other facilities at the military base at Clark Field.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Meets Iran's Rafsanjani, Musavi

PM2802110389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

["Dialogue in Tehran"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] 27 Feb—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR minister of foreign affairs, has had a conversation with A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Islamic Consultative Assembly (parliament) of the Islamic Republic of Iran, including a protracted session on a one-to-one basis.

During the course of the conversation, the further broadening of Soviet-Iranian relations, as well as certain international and regional problems, were touched upon.

E.A. Shevardnadze spoke about the renewal of all aspects of the life of society taking place in the Soviet Union, stressing the dialectical connection between the internal changes and the new thinking in Soviet foreign policy.

He noted the positive changes in international relations, including the promotion of the concept of the priority of values common to all mankind, humanism, and the primacy of law.

Both sides emphasized the mutual desire to develop Soviet-Iranian relations on the principles of goodneighborliness and equal cooperation.

E.A. Shevardnadze expressed the Soviet Union's support for direct Iran-Iraq talks mediated by the UN secretary general. It was emphasized that no disruptions of the negotiation process should be permitted; and the Soviet Union expressed its readiness to assist in every way its successful advancement.

A.A. Hashemi-Rafsanjani reaffirmed Iran's desire to seek ways to settle the conflict with Iraq by political means, through direct talks under the UN aegis.

The sides positively assessed the Soviet-Iranian exchange of opinions on Afghanistan and emphasized that only the realization of the sovereign right of the Afghan people to decide their destiny for themselves can open up the true way to achieving an all-embracing and lasting peace in that country.

E.A. Shevardnadze and the prime minister of Iran, M. Musavi, held a meeting.

In the conversation they noted that at the present stage, when Soviet-Iranian relations are acquiring a new quality symbolized by the exchange of messages between the highest leaders of the two countries, additional opportunities are opening up for the development of mutually beneficial contacts in various spheres.

E.A. Shevardnadze and M. Musavi devoted their main attention to the state of and prospects for economic cooperation. E.A. Shevardnadze spoke of the new opportunities in this area, which are opening up as a result of the economic reform in the USSR and the reorganization of the mechanisms of foreign economic relations. They discussed implementing specific joint projects.

When discussing international subjects, primary attention was devoted to the Iran-Iraq conflict and the ways of settling it. The prime minister expounded his country's position on that score. E.A. Shevardnadze stressed the importance of effectively using the talks mechanism with the support and involvement of the UN and its secretary general.

The sides spoke in favor of stabilizing the situation in the Persian Gulf, which could be promoted by the withdrawal from it of the navies of non-littoral states.

M. Musavi and E.A. Shevardnadze noted the importance of continuing contacts and consultations aimed at preventing bloodshed and at a peaceful solution of Afghanistan's problems.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership, E.A. Shevardnadze invited the Iranian prime minister to come to the Soviet Union for an official visit. The invitation was received with gratitude. The time of the visit will be agreed additionally.

E.A. Shevardnadze held talks with A.A. Velayati, the Islamic Republic of Iran's minister of foreign affairs.

A.A. Velayati stressed that the reception of the Soviet minister of foreign affairs by Imam Khomeyni was an extraordinary event in the practice of Iranian diplomacy. The Iranian side regards it as very important that during the conversation the imam clearly and unambiguously spoke in favor of developing Soviet-Iranian relations.

E.A. Shevardnadze noted that the Soviet side proceeds from the fact that the exchange of messages between the supreme leaders of the Soviet Union and Iran, containing fundamental proposals for developing relations between the two countries, reflects a new state of Soviet-Iranian relations.

E.A. Shevardnadze described the main parameters of Soviet foreign policy, which is based on the principles of new thinking substantiated in detail in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the UN. The practical implementation of these principles has made it possible to attain the first real results, both in the sphere of disarmament and in the settling of regional conflicts. It was noted that the views of the Soviet Union and Iran are close or coincide on many very important international problems. The differences that, of course, remain in individual cases should not hamper constructive interaction in the areas of agreement.

A.A. Velayati described the general directions of Iran's course in international affairs and agreed that in many aspects the approaches of the Soviet Union and Iran coincide or are close.

It was noted that at present a certain positive change has taken shape toward improving the world situation and solving global problems that face mankind through the joint efforts of all countries.

The sides came out for strengthening the role of the UN in the international arena, developing all-round cooperation of states regardless of their social and political system, and settling conflict situations by peaceful political means.

In considering the Iran-Iraq problem, A.A. Velayati gave assurance of his country's sincere striving for peace, which would ultimately lead to goodneighborly relations with Iraq.

Referring to his conversations with Iraqi leaders, E.A. Shevardnadze noted that there are similar intentions in Baghdad also. This in itself allows one to hope for the continuation of the dialogue and the search for mutually acceptable solutions.

The ministers dwelt in detail on matters of Soviet-Iranian cooperation in the sphere of science, technology, and culture. The presence of significant potential here and the sincere interest of the parties in making maximum use of them was noted.

During the talks there was a detailed and frank exchange of views with regard to the situation in Afghanistan.

The sides expressed the certainty that resolution of the problems of that country requires reconciliation among Afghans and the achievement of compromise by means of peace talks.

It was confirmed that the Soviet Union and Iran advocate a sovereign, indpendent, and nonaligned Afghanistan that would have good relations with all its neighbors. The sides will do their utmost to help stop the bloodshed in Afghanistan and establish peace in that neighboring country. The mutual desire was expressed of continuing the Soviet-Iranian dialogue on the whole range of matters relating to normalization of the situation in Afghanistan, and also on other international problems.

E.A. Shevardnadze and A.A. Velayati signed a protocol on consultations that envisages an exchange of views between the ministries of foreign affairs of the two countries on a regular basis in Moscow and Tehran.

The ministers also signed a program of cultural, scientific, and sporting exchanges between the USSR and Iran for the years 1989-90.

On behalf of the Soviet Government, E.A. Shevardnadze invited A.A. Velayati to visit the Soviet Union on an official visit at a time convenient to him. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Shevardnadze Meets Leaders of Iraq, Iran

For Iraqi and Iranian reportage on the visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to Iraq and Iran—including his meetings with Iraq's President Husayn and Foreign Minister 'Aziz, and his meetings with Iran's Ayatollah Khomeyni, President Khamene'i, Prime Minister Musavi, and Foreign Minister Velayati—see the Iraq section of the 24 February Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues, and the Iran section of the 27 February Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Shevardnadze Returns from Middle East Tour

Welcomed Back by Zaykov

LD2702201189 Moscow TASS in English 1946 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS—Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze returned home on Monday from a Middle East tour, which has taken him to Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq and Iran.

He was welcomed back at the airport by party Central Committee Secretary Lev Zaykov, who leads the Moscow City party organisation, and other officials.

Calls Talks 'Substantive,' 'Useful'

LD2802035389 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Excerpts] The Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze has returned to Moscow upon the completion of his tour of the Middle East and southwest Asia [passage omitted]

In an interview for Radio Moscow's diplomatic correspondent at the airport, Shevardnadze said he was pleased over the results of the trip. The talks, he said, had been substantive and useful. The Soviet minister voiced the hope that the Middle East problem could be settled on the basis of freedom of choice and (?the) balance of interests. In that connection, he made special mention of the need to go over to specific preparations for an international conference on the Middle East [passage omitted]

'Arafat, MENA Praise Shevardnadze Visit
LD2702185289 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Cairo February 27 TASS—Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), has stated that his meeting with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze gave a new impulse to the Middle East peace process and revealed full identity of views on ways to achieve peace in the region.

Speaking at a news conference here Sunday after his meeting with Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, Egyptian deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, 'Arafat emphasized that the Soviet-Palestinian dialogue in the Egyptian capital had become a major step towards convening an international Middle East peace conference.

The MENA news agency, describing 'Arafat's meeting with 'Abd Al-Majid, pointed out on Monday that, in the opinion of the two sides, Eduard Shevardnadze's recent visit to Egypt had made a considerable contribution to intensifying the peace process in the region.

Jordan's Husayn Welcomes Soviet Mideast Effort
PM2602191589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Chance Not To Be Missed"]

[Text] Amman, 25 Feb—King Husayn of Jordan has highly appraised the Soviet Union's diplomatic efforts to bring peace to the Near East.

"I believe," he said, "that the USSR's viewpoint is identical to ours and to the views of the overwhelming majority of world leaders." In an interview with an American television company, the Jordanian head of state pointed out that he is glad the Soviet Union understands that "if we do not make a move now, this chance will be lost."

King Husayn drew attention to the importance of the current consultations among the permanent members of the UN Security Council on the question of preparing for an international conference on the Near East and solving the Palestinian problem in all its aspects. In the opinion of Jordan, such a conference involving the five permanent members of the UN Security Council and the sides involved in the conflict, including the PLO, is the best forum for achieving peace in the region.

Palestinians Praise Shevardnadze Mideast Tour
LD2602163789 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Tunis February 26 TASS—The united leadership of the Palestinian uprising on the Israeli-occupied Arab lands has welcomed the Soviet Union's efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East. It regards favourably the results of the Middle East tour of the Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze and the Soviet Union's efforts to convene an international Middle East peace conference, the leadership said in its statement issued in East Jerusalem on Saturday.

It also criticised the U.S. delegation for vetoing a resolution denouncing the Israeli violence on the occupied territories during a vote at the UN Security Council. The statement urges the Security Council to intensify its efforts to convene an international Middle East peace conference. [passage omitted]

Shevardnadze Tour, Soviet Mideast Role Viewed
LD2702235689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1335 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, 27 Feb, (TASS)—TASS political observer Albert Balebanov writes:

Eduard Shevardnadze, USSR minister of foreign affairs, is completing a trip around a number of countries of the Near and Middle East. It has gone far beyond the bounds of exclusively bilateral relations, although great attention was paid to questions of their development. Searches for a durable and just peace in the Near and Middle East; acquaintance with the real situation in the region; and informing partners in meetings about the Soviet understanding of new political thinking in international relations—that is the essence of the tasks resolved by the Soviet side during that trip. At the basis of virtually all the Soviet minister's talks in the capitals of five countries lay problems connected with the most rapid settlement of regional conflicts: the Arab-Israeli and the Iran-Iraq conflicts.

Another point is also noteworthy: Eduard Shevardnadze's trip was undertaken not by way of competition between East and West, but it met the interests of establishing a just and durable peace between Israel and the Arabic countries, and also between Iran and Iraq. In this sense the assertions of the Western press that the Soviet Union is supposedly striving to squeeze the United States out of the region and take its place are absolutely groundless. It is another matter that the USSR would like to make its contribution to the attainment of a Near East settlement; and to the restoration of normal goodneighborly relations between Baghdad and Tehran.

This is testified to in particular by the London paper THE TIMES, which notes that the Soviet Minister proposed "a policy that was well-considered and thought out, rather than one that represented an attempt to inflict damage on the peace efforts being undertaken by the United States."

Also, The assertions in certain circles in the West that Moscow, they say, occupies some kind of "new" position that represents a departure from support for the just cause of the Arabs in their conflict with Israel are not accurate. It should be said with all certainty that these are fabrications. Soviet policy on a Near East settlement, in essence, remains as before. Moscow favors an all-embracing and just solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict, thanks to which the Palestinians will acquire their own homeland, while the people of Israel, along with the Arab peoples, will acquire a reliable peace and security.

Eduard Shevardnadze's trip was undoubtedly a successful one. This is also being admitted in countries of the region in noting the active and constructive role of the Soviet Union in the region. It is generally known that the USSR has made a great contribution to working out a sensible approach to a peaceful settlement in the Near East. Henceforth, on the road to this settlement there remains one main obstacle: the refusal of Israel to conduct talks with the PLO within the framework or outside the framework of the proposed international conference. Therefore, as it seems, it is now a matter of seeking out a compromise acceptable to all sides. There is no other alternative. The more quickly this is realized in Tel Aviv, the more quickly it will be possible to achieve peace in the Near East.

Soviet Role in Mideast, U.S. 'Vagueness' Viewed

PM2702155789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 First Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA observer Manki Ponomarev article under the "World Today: Problems And Opinions" rubric: "You Won't Gain Anything by Force"]

[Text] The trip to five Near and Middle East countries by E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, once again drew the particular attention of the world public to this region. Under conditions where major shifts toward relaxing tension are taking place in the international arena and complex conflict situations are being resolved peacefully, the situation here still remains extremely complex.

Five bloody wars have taken place in the region in the last few decades. Israel, which has received extensive support from the United States, is continuing to hold onto the lands it seized from the neighboring Arab states and is refusing to acknowledge the Palestinian people's legitimate rights. For their part, Arab countries have been forced to take extreme measures to ensure their security in the face of Tel Aviv's aggressive machinations, resolve age-old burning issues, and satisfy their own national aspirations. The Iran-Iraq conflict adds to this. Hostilities between these two countries have ceased but there is still a long way to go before there is real reconciliation.

In short, the current situation in the Near East can only be compared to a powder keg. It seems clear to everyone that none of the sides involved in the conflict can achieve its aims through force since that path only leads to further even more devastating wars. Nevertheless, there is a clear danger that events here may also develop according to the unnatural logic of military confrontation.

For it is a fact that most of the countries in the region have become involved in a vicious arms race. In terms of direct military expenditures, the Near East ranks third in the world (after NATO and the Warsaw Pact). In 1987 alone these expenditures totalled $59 billion. A vast quantity of weapons has been stockpiled and the mountains of arms are piling up continuously. In the last 5 years the countries of the region have bought arms worth $93 billion on world markets, and many of them have also begun to produce contemporary types of weapons themselves, including intermediate-range ballistic missiles.

The following data indicate the scale of the arms that have been accumulated in the Near East. The states here have a total of 25,000 tanks and more than 4,000 warplanes. Armed forces number 5 million men (7 million including reservists). In the last 10 years the countries of the region have spent a basic figure of $600 billion on wars and military preparations.

The peoples of the Near East countries have suffered countless losses. In the course of the Iran-Iraq conflict alone, according to press data, about 1 million people died and the devastation is estimated at $350-500 billion. People are still dying today—on the Israeli-occupied Palestinian territories, where the flame of the people's uprising has not subsided for 15 months now, and in Beirut, which has been rent by bitter clashes that have also ultimately been prompted by Israel's actions.

It is not only the peoples of the region that need peace—a lasting secure peace where freedom of choice would be ensured. The smoldering seat of the war in the Near East poses a direct threat to all mankind since its coals, which are barely covered, can easily spark the flame of world conflagration if someone tries to fan them.

So there is just one way out. All the problems of the region, however complex and involved they may be, must be resolved by political means alone. Soviet policy's priority is to get the peace process in the Near East going as early as possible. Moreover, the Soviet Union is bearing in mind the fact that these solutions must be all-embracing and based on multilateral dialogue and talks at several levels at once. This approach is determined by the fact that the entire Near East conflict is exceptionally complex in terms of its history, the number of sides involved in it, and its political multidimensionality and psychological severity. In determining its policy in the region, the USSR invariably proceeds from the premise that our country is indivisibly linked with it geographically, historically, and politically. It not only can, but should make its contribution to establishing a lasting peace here.

In elaborating and implementing its policy on the Near and Middle East, the Soviet Union proceeds on the basis of the new political thinking and on its philosophy of a secure world with the breadth of vision expounded by the Soviet leader from the UN rostrum last December. This policy, as E.A. Shevardnadze's visits to Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Iraq, and Iran show, is meeting with increasingly broad support and approval. Britain's BBC described these visits as a "peace tour." "The Soviet Union is taking a correct and very constructive position on the Near East problem," King Husayn of Jordan stated.

In what way is the Soviet stance constructive? In the fact that it aims to provide a peaceful settlement to all conflict situations and a sober view of all sides' interests and endeavors to practically promote the solution of the problems of the Near East. Moreover, the Soviet Union indicates a real way of achieving this. In its opinion, the nature of the conflict suggests that its solution must be all-embracing and can only be achieved through collective international efforts.

In the opinion of the Soviet Union, the convening of an international conference under UN auspices involving all interested parties, including the PLO and also the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, is an acceptable form for establishing a just and all-embracing peace in the Near East. It is not only the Arab countries involved in the conflict who subscribe to this viewpoint. Some 138 states worldwide approve the idea of convening a conference that was expressed in the well known UN General Assembly resolution.

It is high time to embark on multilateral and bilateral contacts with a view to preparing a conference. It must obviously be held through informal discussion at the UN Security Council and through unofficial consultations between its permanent members.

A meeting between the representatives of Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Lebanon, and the PLO could play a useful role. Other steps in this direction are also possible.

Our country intends to do everything possible to encourage and support any positive steps aimed at eliminating inter-Arab differences, uniting Arab countries, and establishing constructive dialogue on a Near East settlement. At the same time, the Soviet Union states very responsibly that Israel must not be afraid of the proposed international conference. Its security will not suffer from its involvement in such a conference or from the decisions that may be adopted there. Moreover, its security will increase just as the security of all the other states in the region will increase.

That is the conviction of the broadest circles of the world public and most countries' statesmen and politicians. However, Israel itself refuses to consent to the idea of a conference. It would prefer to do business with Arab countries on a bilateral basis along the lines of the Camp David model. Tel Aviv stubbornly refuses to do business with the PLO and refuses even to hear of Israeli troops withdrawing from all the occupied Arab territories.

This obstructionist position on Israel's part is determined not only by the extremist mood of influential circles within this country. Tel Aviv relies in its policy on direct support from its "strategic ally"—the United States. There is marked disquiet in Washington over the fact that there has been an appreciable reduction recently in U.S. influence on Near East affairs, whereas the role of the Soviet Union is increasing. At present, the new Washington Administration has not given its opinion on this acute international problem just as, moreover, on many other questions of international life. I would like to hope that this vagueness will soon come to an end and that the United States will join other countries' peoples in striving for a just and lasting settlement in the Near East.

Of course, definite changes can also be expected from Tel Aviv. For instance, people there are now stressing the significance of the role played by the Soviet Union in the matter of a Near East settlement. This would have been inconceivable quite recently. Moreover, our time is generally a time of major changes, where such events as the PLO's recognition of Israel, the proclamation of the Palestinian state's independence, the establishment of direct PLO-U.S. dialogue, and a cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq front have become possible. With the affirmation of the new political thinking, increasingly broad prospects are opening up for attaining a historic compromise in the Near East.

When such a compromise is achieved and when a solution is found through the joint efforts of many countries, above all those involved in the conflict, we will be able to say with complete justification: "Yet another most acute problem has become a thing of the past." But in order for this to happen, a long and protracted path must be covered where we may encounter the most varied surprises and dangers. Our noble aim, for the attainment of which no efforts must be spared, is to avoid them and change the switch from the rails of strong-arm policy to the rails of a political settlement.

Pro-Rushdie, Anti-Khomeyni Protest in Moscow

AU2702162689 Paris AFP in English 1554 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow, Feb 27 (AFP)—Some 15 demonstrators gathered outside the Iranian Embassy here Monday, in protest at the death-threat issued by Iran's spiritual guide Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni against British author Salman Rushdie.

The half-hour protest, in support of the Indian-born author of "The Satanic Verses", which many Moslems believe blasphemes Islam, came as Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze was making an official visit to Tehran.

The demonstrators, greatly outnumbered by journalists, carried banners written in English and Russian, which read "Khomeyni Is an Assassin", "Defend the Freedom of Creativity" and "Shame on Khomeyni and the Fanatics of Islam".

Soldiers and KGB security agents, also more numerous than the protesters, circled the demonstration but did not intervene.

The protest's organizers included staff and supporters of the GLASNOST dissident newsletter, led by Sergey Grigoryants, and members of the Democratic Movement, a group seeking to become an opposition party in the Soviet Union.

An Iranian Embassy employee came out of the building to take photographs during the demonstration.

Mr. Grigoryants described to reporters what he called "the cynicism of the (Soviet) state" for not reacting to the Ayatollah's death threat—which has not yet received comment in the official Soviet press.

Mr. Grigoryants also protested against Mr. Shevardnadze's visit to Tehran, saying that the Soviet Union should not establish contacts with what he called "a regime of assassins".

Khomeyni Comments on West, Rushdie Affair Cited

PM2402124789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Report with "FRANCE-PRESSE, UPI" attribution under the rubric: "From the IZVESTIYA Teleprinter Room, Thursday": " 'I Won't Stand For It...'"]

[Text] Iran's spiritual leader Ayatollah Khomeyni has sent a message "to Islamic authorities and theologians." It was read out on national radio Wednesday.

"I am not leaving the country in the hands of liberals," the ayatollah assured. "I won't stand for hypocrites destroying Islam. I won't allow the revolutionary principles, whereby we reject East and West, to be disregarded or flouted. While I'm alive, I will personally cut off the hands of U.S. and Soviet hirelings wherever these two states attempt to infiltrate."

Khomeyni resolutely opposed religious figures who advocate revision of the principles proclaimed at the start of the revolution. The ayatollah rejected the ideas of those "in the West who, analyzing our policy, our principles, and our diplomacy, think that we should change our position and not repeat past mistakes, and who believe that our slogans are too radical, and who argue that the war (with Iraq) led to our isolation. On the contrary, we have successfully fulfilled all our aims even as regards the war, which Iran brought to a victorious end since our enemies gained nothing, even by inflicting such losses on us."

As regards the case of the British writer S. Rushdie, who has been sentenced to death for insulting Islam, the ayatollah stated that no threats of economic sanctions against Iran on the part of the EEC countries would prevent the execution of the "divine command," and urged the Islamic clergy to remain united in the face of the "Western threat."

Iranian President Khamene'i, speaking on the same topic at a press conference during his visit to Yugoslavia, proclaimed the following: "There's no solution to the Rushdie problem. A long black arrow has already been fired and will fly irrevocably to its target."

'Diplomatic War' Between Iran, West Viewed

NC2502134489 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The tension in relations between the West and the Islamic world continues. This tension began with the publication of "The Satanic Verses" by British author Salman Rushdie. [passage omitted]

Tehran's extremist reaction to "The Satanic Verses" has led to the current diplomatic war between Iran and the West. [passage omitted]

In our view, the reason for the exacerbation of the tension is not the existence of clashing views, but the efforts by some political circles in Iran and the West to exploit the commotion on "The Satanic Verses" for the sake of their own interests. The supporters of the idea of exporting Iran's Islamic revolution regard the intensification of religious fanaticism over the British author's book as a suitable pretext for changing their positions in the world, which had weakened as a result of the meaningless Iran-Iraq war. The commotion over this book is a pretext being used in their struggle to consolidate power within the country. On the other hand, the [word indistinct] circles that continue to exist in the West regard the exacerbation of tension in relations with the Islamic world as favorable grounds for fresh adventurism in their foreign policy. Western politicians who continue to hold on to old political views fan the flames of the commotion on "The Satanic Verses" to avoid solving crucial problems in the relations with developing Islamic countries—problems that continue to exist since the era of colonialist empires in the vast territories of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It appears that if the social circles in Islamic countries and in the West realize in whose interests the commotion on "The Satanic Verses" is, then this will help toward a solution of the current political crisis.

Mojahedin-e Khalq Official Views Rushdie Affair

NC2502075989 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] Reports indicate that Jalal Ganjehi, who is in exile, participated in a news conference organized by the Mojahedin-e Khalq Organization of Iran and stated that Salman Rushdie's freedom of speech should be defended from attack, even if this is at great cost to religious sentiment. Jalal Ganjehi pointed out: I have read most parts of "The Satanic Verses" and can understand the reason behind the Muslims' (?heated) sentiments. However, even in view of this, we do not have the right to threaten its author.

Jalal Ganjehi is a 42-year-old religious dignitary who is famous for having been a strict opponent of both the Shah and Khomeyni's regimes.

Official Interviewed on Iran-Soviet Trade

NC2502130289 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Dear listeners: Soviet foreign trade organizations are expanding commercial cooperation with trade organizations and companies of the Republic of Iran. Our correspondent (Vadim Urzov) interviewed Voldemar Byleyev, deputy chairman and director general of Vostokintorg and asked him to speak about the commercial relations of this organization with the relative organizations in Iran.

Voldemar Byleyev said: Our organization has had relations with the Islamic Republic of Iran for a long time. This year Vostokintorg marks its 50th anniversary. Throughout this period we have had commercial activities in Iran.

Unfortunately, the two countries' commercial relations have not always been the same. Sometimes, after a period of increased trade, we had a decrease in trade. Currently, we have the possiblity of greatly expanding commercial relations.

I think that after the termination of the Iran-Iraq war, our Iranian colleagues also have this possibility, because it is not a secret to anyone that Iran should import some products that it needs from foreign countries. We are now taking the first steps in this direction.

In continuation, Voldemar Byleyev said: Our organization delivers almost all kinds of products, with the exception of oil products and industrial equipment exported by other Soviet foreign trade companies to Iran. In the history of commercial relations between Vostokintorg and Iran, there was a time when the annual amount of trade reached $250 million, while now this trade is at a much lower level. However, during the past 2 years changes have taken place in the two countries'commercial relations. These changes are a source of satisfaction. [words indistinct] trade reached $50 million, while in 1988, it increased to $88 million. The projection for 1989 is more than $100 million.

We believe that there are practical possibilities for trade in the current year to reach $150 million.

In answer to our correspondent's question on which Soviet products are more favored by Iranian buyers, Voldemar Byleyev said: The major products now exported to Iran are metals, chemical fertilizers, cross beams, tires, and chemical products. We export an annual total of 150,000 tonnes of chemical fertilizers and about 300,000 cross beams. Last year we sold 5,000 tire tubes to Iranian companies, and we are offering 20,000 more.

Discussions are proceeding with Iranian companies. Vostokintorg purchases all Iranian products, with the exception of oil. In other words, these are light industry products, food industry products, and various consumer goods.

Voldemar Byleyev then said: This year we purchased henna, indigo, spices, dried apricots, walnuts, hazelnuts, knitwear, and rubber shoes. We have signed an agreement with the Sharq Cooperative Company on the purchase of the brand of soap powder preferred by Soviet buyers.

We believe that the [words indistinct] on the Iranian side express great interest in the expansion of commercial realtions with the Soviet Union. We also believe that trade with Iran should be further increased.

Pakistan Not Recognizing Afghan Rebel Regime

LD2702230589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2000 GMT 27 Feb 89

["Mayak" commentary by Aleksandr Malikov]

[Text] [Announcer] According to international news agencies, Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto has refused to meet the Afghan opposition's demand for Islamabad to recognize the recently formed provisional transitional government-in-exile. She stressed that such a step would be premature on the part of the Pakistan Government. At the microphone is Aleksandr Malikov with a "Mayak" commentary.

[Malikov] The Afghan opposition clearly did not expect such a turn of events, particularly after such strong behind-the-scenes pressure on the part of the Pakistan special services, which had sought to force the ill-assorted groupings to reach a consensus on the composition of a provisional transitional government. The prefix in-exile, which the opposition forces used to arouse sympathy among the Pakistan public, failed to create the requisite impression on Islamabad, although it is possible that it is precisely this prefix which, to some extent, actually forced Islamabad to refrain from the step they have described as premature.

On the other hand, to recognize a government-in-exile in the current situation means to openly and cynically volate the Geneva accords. But the point lies not so much in the moral aspect of international obligations. After all, Pakistan is methodically continuing to violate the Geneva accords. Here it is rather something else: A government-in-exile not only has no juridical plenipotentiary powers, but most importantly, it does not control the situation in the country by remaining outside its borders. Consequently, what kind of a government is that?

At the same time, the very fact that it has found itself in diplomatic isolation is symbolic. It says that despite the strong temptation, which has long existed, to form a political alternative to the Kabul Government as quickly as possible, both in Pakistan and in the United States—where doubts are also expressed as to the expediency of recognizing the rebel government—it is understood that the shura, with their assistance, gave rise to a clearly artificial structure of power, because even it—by the admission of some members of the opposition—represents at best only one-third of public opinion.

As is known, the Iranian wing of the opposition boycotted its meetings. In addition, there are serious doubts that the present course of the government-in-exile will be capable of receiving the approval of the field commanders in Afghanistan itself. In a word, the conditions of the present provision transitional government-in-exile are most dilapidated.

I will in no way be surprised if it passes into oblivion just as unnoticably as the one that preceded it last summer. It is clear that its foreign sponsors see only one opportunity in its formation: to seek somehow or other at the given stage to unite the divided forces of the opposition for armed struggle with the Najibullah government.

But these efforts, too, as time is showing, are generally moving in a vicious circle. They are not only fruitless, but also lock in the tense situation within the country. The Afghan Government sees the way out of this vicious circle of enmity in the establishment of inter-Afghan dialogue. On Saturday, President Najibullah spelled out his proposals for the opposition field commanders to enter the broad dialogue on a possible division of power. The commanders of military garrisons defending cities have been given accurate instructions on this score.

I would like to mention another detail. The Red Cross has decided to return its foreign personnel to Kabul, in connection with the fact that a calm situation has prevailed in the capital for the past 2 weeks. This is yet another sign of the strengthening hopes for a peaceful evolution of the situation in Afghanistan, although, of course, the clouds of a new stage in the civil war have not yet passed from the horizon.

Quetta Rally Opposes Interference in Afghanistan

PM2702112389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[TASS report under the rubric "Around Afghanistan": "In Support of Geneva Agreements"]

[Text] Islamabad, 24 Feb—If the Pakistani Government continues its former policy with regard to Afghanistan, then the Pushtuns and Baluchis living along the border with that country will have to take steps themselves to prevent further deliveries of arms to the Afghan opposition. This was stated by the leaders of five progressive and regional political parties and organizations at a crowded meeting in Quetta. It was organized at the initiative of the civilian committee for the Geneva agreements, which has been joined by representatives of the Awami National Party, the Pakistan National Party, the National Alliance of Baluchistan, the "Pushtunkhva Milli Avami Ittekhad" [name as transliterated], and the "Tehrik-i-Ittehad-i-Qabail." [name as transliterated]

Those taking part in the meeting sharply criticized the Pakistani Administration, which in contravention of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, is continuing to render assistance to the armed opposition trying to overthrow the legitimate government of the Republic of Pakistan. They denounced the actions of the Pakistani authorities, who have allowed the leaders of the Afghan armed opposition to hold sessions of their Consultative Council (shura) on Pakistani territory. Those who spoke at the meeting urged the Pakistani Government to observe the conditions of the Geneva agreements and not to interfere in the internal affairs of the country's neighbors. After the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan, there is no justification for the headquarters of groupings of the armed opposition to be based in Pakistan or for its territory to be used as a transit point for weapons coming from the West, the speakers stressed.

The armed conflict in Afghanistan, they said, could spread beyond that country and thus jeopardize the security of the entire South Asia region. They urged the leadership of all political forces in Afghanistan to seek ways of settling the conflict at the conference table. That is the only correct path to end the many years of war, the leaders of the Pakistani parties pointed out.

After the meeting there was a mass demonstration by inhabitants of Quetta in support of the Geneva agreements and against interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

U.S., Pakistan Supporting Afghan 'Blockade'

PM2402115789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Second Edition p 7

[Article by Yu. Glukhov under the rubric "International Information": "Blockade, Intrigues Continue Around Afghanistan"]

[Text] The clouds of a military and economic blockade are gathering over Afghanistan and over its most important vital centers, primarily Kabul. The blockade is the means to which Afghanistan's enemies are resorting in their repeated attempts to stifle the republican regime.

It is primarily a case of disrupting the program of aid supplied through UN channels. This program is aimed at helping the Afghans overcome the difficulties caused by the war—hunger, destruction, and privations—and to make it easier for refugees to return home and accelerate the restoration of normal life. The Soviet Union is also taking a large part in this.

Tons of freight that have arrived through UN channels have accumulated in Termez and Islamabad. But their delivery is being thwarted by the sabotage of the intransigent opposition encouraged by the United States and Pakistan. Essential supplies—food, medical supplies, and fuel—are being blocked.

The gamble on economic sabotage and the galvanization of subversive activity are no accident. The plans to put an end to the republic with a "cavalry charge" are failing for the umpteenth time. Despite statements that Kabul would fall the day after the Soviet troops' withdrawal, nothing of the kind has happened. Even judging by the reports of Wesern correspondents who have flown into the Afghan capital in the expectation of "sensations," the city as a whole is living a normal life, unless you count the sporadic bandit attacks. The stores are trading and enterprises and institutions are working.

The attempts to create a united front against the republican regime are also failing. These attempts were made during the convening of the shura (Consultative Council) that sits in Peshawar. Its sessions are proceeding with scandals. Representatives of the Shi'ite mujahidin "Eight" based in Tehran left the meeting. The meeting is being boycotted by the "field commanders" of the opposition formations. Two moderate groupings—the "National Islamic Front of Afghanistan" headed by S.A. Gaylani and the "National Liberation Front of Afghanistan" headed by S. Mujadeddi—have refused to take part in the "transitional government" being knocked together by the shura.

Unfortunately, the shura's work has come down not to the search for national agreement but to the deepening of the crisis. Conciliation in Afghanistan is impossible without the participation of all forces, especially the most influential, like the PDPA. Yet it is not represented in Peshawar. Representatives even of entire national groups like the Uzbeks and Turkmens, for instance, are not taking part in the work of the Consultative Council. They have protested against discrimination in this connection.

Indeed, the Western press is writing openly that the so-called "transitional government" is being formed by the Pakistani special services. They are elaborating offensive plans for it. The special services are acting as though they had a free hand, as though they did not know of the changes that have taken place and are taking place in Pakistan itself. As for the United States, it is trying to cement the Afghan opposition with military handouts.

Washington's continuing interference looks particularly unseemly. After all, the United States, in conjunction with the USSR, is the guarantor of the Geneva accords and is committed not only to fulfilling but also to keeping track of fulfillment of the accords—for instance, to restraining and not encouraging Pakistan and the mujahidin based there.

Seeking to make such an odious position in Afghan affairs look better, the U.S. press has recently started talking about a "secret" humanitarian plan for Afghanistan that has allegedly been under way for the past 3 years. Of course, it is strange, to say the least, that humanitarian actions have been kept secret. On the other hand, other U.S. deeds are no secret. The United States bears considerable responsibility for continuation of the bloodshed in Afghanistan. The position of the intransigents consists of the sabotage of the quest for peace, new murders, and new casualties among the civilian population. And U.S. weapons and U.S. money lie behind all this.

Behind all this there also lies the continuation of the Afghan tragedy. "Officials have indicated," THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, "that Washington will probably recognize the provisional government if it takes power in Afghanistan firmly into its hands. They have stated that this does not have to be the entire territory of Afghanistan and does not have to include Kabul." If you read between these lines, it is a case of the country's division and partition. It is symptomatic that Islamabad is coming out with the same ideas. Such are their aggressive aspirations toward a sovereign state.

Meanwhile a new stage has begun; the active process of demilitarization of the Afghan conflict has begun with the Soviet troops' withdrawal. So far this is a unilateral peace-loving gesture from Moscow and Kabul. Further movement toward detente is essential. The logical continuation would be the complete cessation of deliveries of weapons to the warring sides, which is what the Soviet Union proposes. Washington is speaking of "positive symmetry." But where are symmetrical steps toward the easing of tension?

Unfortunately, as a result of the actions of the opponents of an Afghan settlement, the national conciliation process has come to a halt. The complicated situation has required extraordinary measures by the Afghan Government. Martial law has been introduced. A Supreme Council for the Defense of the Motherland has been created.

The polarization of forces is taking place. Matters are approaching further confrontation. And the blame for this lies not only and not so much on the opposition forces. Responsibility is borne by those who are urging on the opposition, engaging in incitement, playing with the destiny of the Afghan people, refusing them peace, and increasing and prolonging their sufferings.

Under these conditions the peace-loving forces must play their part in achieving a settlement. "Today more than ever it is urgently necessary to immediately activate the role of the Nonaligned Movement in the search for peace and stability in Afghanistan. It can scarcely allow itself to remain an onlooker to the bloodshed," the Indian newspaper THE TELEGRAPH writes. The world community and the United Nations must have their important say.

Afghanistan's 'Main Struggle' Still Lies Ahead

PM2602185589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 4

[V. Ivanov dispatch under the rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Afghanistan: The Main Struggle Still Lies Ahead; The Republic's Government Is Counting on Consolidating the Patriotic Forces"]

[Text] Kabul—One Western journalist currently in Kabul said the other day: "Nothing supernatural is going to come from the Afghan opposition. They wanted to stage something in Kabul on 12 February, when there were hardly any Soviet servicemen left in the city, but nothing happened. A couple of grenades thrown do not really count for anything. On 15 February, when there were no Soviet units left on Afghan territory, again nothing happened. We were expecting a virtual mass uprising in Kabul on 21 February—but there were not even any attempts to incite such an uprising. No sensations." But whereas the lack of sensational events is like balm to the wounds of that particular journalist from a left-wing newspaper, many of his Western colleagues have returned home in a bad mood. It seems they had come here for nothing.

Nevertheless, despite the persisting stability in the country and the outward calm in Kabul, you can only really understand the Afghan situation if you are fully aware that neither side has yet laid its main trump cards on the table.

The central government has taken emergency measures, military-political and psychological, that have produced a positive result on the whole. A state of emergency has been introduced, the Supreme Council for the Defense of the Motherland has been established, and party members have become more active in a number of major cities. They are being used to form a "Revolutionary Home Guard," and officer units have been formed within the Armed Forces. Security bodies are conducting vigorous operations in the cities to combat terrorism: Every day they confiscate tens, sometimes hundreds of kilograms of explosives, various types of mines, explosive devices, submachineguns, machineguns, hand grenades and grenade launchers, and subversive literature. They are mopping up saboteurs in the environs of major cities, from where residential quarters are being subjected to rocket attacks.

The opposition has its own intentions. It would like to seize two "tidbits" at once—Kabul and Jalalabad. If it took Kabul, it could immediately announce the collapse of the regime. And if it took Jalalabad, it could set up its own government there. But the rebels have not succeeded in swallowing either of these tidbits. The situation around Kabul reminds one of the entrance to a narrow corridor that each of the "Islamic parties" would like to enter, having pushed the others aside. But even at the entrance they are certainly not awaited with open arms.

A tense situation persists in Nangarhar Province, of which Jalalabad is the center: Pakistani military units under the command of generals are concentrated on its borders. Within the province itself, Pakistani militia and military advisers are working alongside rebel detachments, and supply trains carrying arms and ammunition are being sent there from Pakistani territory. However, far from all of them are reaching their destination: The Afghan Army has erected road blocks in the path of many of these "convoys of terror."

The intrigue around Jalalabad, designed to prepare the ground for proclaiming an "interim" government carrying the label "Made in Pakistan," has intensified in connection with the work of the opposition's Consultative Council in Rawalpindi. However, the shura sessions have been conducted in an atmosphere of sharp conflict and, what is more, have been boycotted by the "Iran Eight"—the Shi'ite groupings based in Iran. Within Afghanistan itself, fighting has been going on between rebel formations of opposition parties, and particularly between rival groups in the "Alliance of Seven."

Encountering serious difficulties in the task of uniting the Afghan antigovernment groupings, the Pakistani and American administrations are making feverish attempts to, if not unite these groups, then at least gather the opposition parties they have nurtured for so long into one heap, labelling the result an "interim government." The leaders of the Afghan rebels themselves are joking bitterly that whereas before, when the Soviet troops were still in Afghanistan, they called the Kabul regime a "puppet" regime, this definition now fully applies to the "government" being put together in Pakistan.

A serious factor in the Afghan situation is still the stand taken by the U.S. Administration, which, prey to its memories of Vietnam, dreams of a similar dramatic denouement in Afghanistan. Consequently, Washington is continuing to flood Afghanistan with weapons, in breach of universally recognized international legal norms. The justification for this is simple: They do not like the present Kabul regime—and that is all there is to it.

The possibility of religious influence being brought to bear on the population and the army, and the country's supersaturation with weapons are still strong cards in the opposition's hands. Errors made by the former Afghan leadership, and also the population's dissatisfaction with the increased delays in food and fuel supplies caused by the economic and military blockade of major cities are playing into the opposition's hands. In these conditions, the government is counting on consolidating patriotic forces and reinforcing the regular armed forces.

The main struggle still lies ahead.

USSR Denies Knowing MIA Interviewed by BBC

PM2402190189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Unattributed, untitled report under the rubric "Afghanistan"]

[Text] The attention of the editorial office has been attracted by a BBC report that a BBC correspondent was invited to a secret mujahidin base in one of the border regions of Afghanistan, where a Soviet military serviceman, 20-year-old Oleg Andreyevich Lyubov, is being kept. The report said he is not on the list of Soviet servicemen missing in action in Afghanistan. According to the BBC report, he was captured by one of the armed Afghan opposition groups during combat operations near the city of Konduz. The correspondent said the "mujahidin have spared Lyubov's life (he is convinced that his family believe him dead and is unaware that the Soviet troops have withdrawn from Afghanistan) because he has agreed to convert to Islam."

In response to a request by our IZVESTIYA correspondent to comment on this report, a spokesman for the USSR Foreign Ministry said:

"Preliminary checks have been carried out. The name O.A. Lyubov has not been found on the list of Soviet servicemen missing in action. However, there are some names on this list which sound similar. We must also remember our recent history, when Soviet soldiers taken prisoner during the Great Patriotic War went under false names. That also cannot be ruled out in this case. All the details must be carefully and painstakingly checked out in this matter. Any information on the fate of our servicemen missing in action in Afghanistan is very thoroughly looked into."

Requiem Held For War Dead in Afghanistan

LD2402005489 Moscow TASS in English 2106 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS—A mass for the repose of the souls of the war dead in Afghanistan and all those who sacrificed their lives for the motherland was held at the resurrection Cathedral in Moscow on Thursday. Gathered at the downtown cathedral were believers, relatives of the dead and young soldiers who returned home after fulfilling their duty.

The requiem was performed by Metropolitan Pitirim of Volokolamsk and Yuriyev. Before the service the senior hierarch of the Russian Orthodox Church addressed the congregation urging his compatriots to help those who returned from Afghanistan, where they lost their health, to facilitate their rehabilitation.

Metropolitan Pitirim is one of the church leaders who was nominated by public peace and cultural organisations to stand in elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Remains of Downed Air Crew Returned to Kabul

LD2602171489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1635 GMT 26 Feb 89

[Text] Kabul, 26 Feb (TASS)—An airplane of the International Committee of the Red Cross today delivered here from Pakistan the remains of four pilots and five passengers of an Afghan transport plane that was brought down over the territory of Pakistan.

On 31 January this plane was flying the route from Kabul to Khowst. Because of complex meteorological conditions it went off course. The crew requested permission to land at the nearest airport. While in the direct vicinity of the border the An-32 was attacked by Pakistani fighters that first forced it to change course and then brought it down with 'air-to-air' class missiles.

The Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Afghanistan turned to the International Committee of the Red Cross for assistance when the efforts of the Afghan side to secure the return of the remains of the deceased to their homeland met with no success.

'Fanatics' Riot in Bombay Over Rushdie Book

PM2602142589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 First Edition p 5

[Dispatch from unnamed correspondent: "Demonstration by Muslim Fanatics"]

[Text] Delhi, 25 Feb—The fierce reaction to Salman Rushdie's novel "The Satanic Verses" has also affected India, leading to tragic events. Various Muslim fundamentalist organizations that consider the book to be an insult to Islam staged a nationwide strike Friday.

Bombay—the writer's hometown—was hit hardest. Following midday prayers, Muslim fundamentalists, ignoring a ban on demonstrations, staged a mass protest on the main road running through the Muslim districts of Bombay. Its participants started pelting the police with rocks and bottles. The police were forced to return fire, firing 60 volleys. The sad consequence of the riot was 12 dead and 50 wounded.

Muslim fanatics have also demonstrated in a number of other cities. In Delhi, for instance, they marched from the main Dzhama Masdzhid [name as transliterated] Mosque to the British High Commission (embassy) and demanded that the British authorities punish Salman Rushdie, who is a British citizen and has been forced to go into hiding following Ayatollah Khomeyni's call for his execution.

East Europe

Yeltsin Discusses Hungarian Multiparty Decision

LD1302211689 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2005 GMT 13 Feb 89

[From the "Panorama" program]

[Excerpts] [Presenter] We begin our program with an internal political event, the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Central Committee session of 10-11 February. [passage omitted]

Our colleague Ferenc Szaniszlo in Moscow interviewed Boris Yeltsin, former first secretary of the Moscow Party Committee and currently deputy chairman of the State Construction Committee, with ministerial rank. During the conversation this morning, he asked Yeltsin also about the events in Hungary.

[Begin recording] [Szaniszlo, in Russian fading into Hungarian translation] At the HSWP Central Committee session, the decision that the multiparty system has a place in political pluralism was made. What is your opinion, and at what stage is this in the Soviet Union?

[Yeltsin, in Russian fading into Hungarian translation] In Russia there is no such decision for the time being. But, it is impossible to live in some kind of isolated society. It must be studied and [word indistinct]. We are not at the same stage as 50 years ago, when the experiences of only one country were at disposal, and all the other countries—because they had no other model—reproduced and copied our methods, just as the Hungarians did as well.

By now, however, the socialist countries have accumulated so much of their own experiences that, in many respects, we have to study these methods and draw lessons for ourselves. So, it is possible that at present, for the time being, from the point of view of our thinking and, even more, our organizational structure, we are not prepared for this. But I would not exclude this question from being put on the agenda, an open debate on it in the future. It would be good to start the whole thing with, for example, the Komsomol, to create at least an alternative youth organization. Let it try to gain the (?heart and favor) of the youth, to create competition for Komsomol.

We wasted time by dismissing your experiences, particularly in the field of agriculture. So, while before we were able to provide our own people with food and even have some left for export, later the situation was reversed. We could not provide for our own people, and we started to buy food from abroad. And, in my opinion, in this sphere we did not appreciate enough the Hungarian experiences, nor did we do this at the appropriate time. Now we have awakened. We have started to give people more freedom, but even despite this, we did not fulfill the (?principles) declared in the slogans of 1917: Land for the peasants; Factories for the workers; Power to the councils; Peace for peoples; Bread for the hungry. [end recording]

Poland's Rakowski Cited on 'Roundtable' Talks

PM2702153989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Statement by M. Rakowski"]

[Text] Warsaw, 26 Feb—At the "roundtable" talks it is very important to find a common language regarding what are for Poland the main problems of political, public, and economic life—which is, of course, no easy matter.

This view was expressed by M. Rakowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, on Polish television. Paramount among the problems he cited is that of agreement on reforms in the economy, the methods and pace of their implementation, and also deciding on the date of the Sejm election and the election statute.

There is also the problem of "Solidarity's" image and of the existence of two trade unions at an enterprise. The government head noted that the crux of the matter is the creation of guarantees and conditions whereby, in Poland, within the framework of the new political model that is taking shape, all forces advocating the development of socialism will collaborate: the PZPR, allied parties, and other associations which have thrown in their lot with the socialist system.

It must be said, he continued, that the people at the "roundtable" are ordinary people, not magicians. They are not in a position to wave a magic wand and create a better Poland whose economy will start functioning immediately on a very healthy foundation. The efforts of all citizens are needed here.

Touching on the strikes that have occurred recently in various regions, M. Rakowski said that people are using them to obtain higher pay. But one cannot get a step nearer the desired goal by that method. The market situation merely deteriorates, inflation grows, and it ultimately leads to higher prices. The speaker talked with concern about the disturbances organized by groups of young people, primarily students, that have occurred on the streets of Krakow and Warsaw. Such phenomena are a threat to the public order and peace which are vital to us. Many people have been upset by these escapades.

The whole world is watching us at the moment, the government head said in conclusion. Our country is undergoing a test of civic maturity. I have faith in the good sense of the majority of Poles and I am convinced that Poland will cope with the difficulties.

*Yugoslav Trade Union Delegation Visits Moscow

WA18070512 Moscow TRUD in Russian
7 Feb 89 p 3

[Report on official visit by Yugoslav trade union delegation to Moscow from 30 January to 4 February 1989]

[Text] A delegation from the Confederation of Trade Unions of Yugoslavia (CTUY), headed by CTUY Council Chairman M. Orozhen, was in the USSR on an official friendly visit from 30 January to 4 February 1989 as the guests of the AUCCTU.

The delegation learned about the work and life of the Soviet laboring public, the progress of restructuring in our country, and the participation of trade unions in it. The Yugoslav guests visited Leningrad in addition to Moscow and toured industrial and agricultural enterprises. They had meetings with workers and trade union personnel and conversations with trade union council members. The delegates were given a fraternal welcome and warm hospitality everywhere.

The talks between the CTUY delegation and the delegation of Soviet trade unions, headed by AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev, were conducted in an atmosphere of frankness and sincere friendship. The two sides exchanged information about the current activities and objectives of the trade unions in their countries.

At the talks the AUCCTU chairman informed the Yugoslav delegation of the progress in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 18th Congress of Trade Unions of the USSR, and the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the participation of trade unions in the efforts to improve the economic mechanism, develop socialist democracy and glasnost, and carry out the reform of the political system in the Soviet Union. The increasingly important role of trade unions in Soviet public life was noted, as well as their stronger protective function, their active participation in the pursuit of a strong social policy, and the reorganization of their own work.

The CTUY council chairman reported the progress in carrying out the decisions of the 10th CTUY Congress. He spoke at length about the CTUY's intention to reform the economic and political system, change the structure of the economy, and adapt it to meet the needs of the domestic and international markets. He also discussed the efforts to revitalize economic growth, curb inflation, and carry out a social program in the country.

Questions connected with the further reinforcement and improvement of bilateral trade union cooperation were discussed at the talks. The two sides were pleased to announce that the agreements concluded at the time of the visit to Yugoslavia by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, have aided in the development of friendly relations between trade unions in the two countries. The stable and multifaceted nature of these relations, based on the principles of equality, autonomy, and mutual respect, was noted.

During the discussion of Soviet-Yugoslav trade union contacts and cooperation as an integral part of comprehensive interaction by the laboring public and general public of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the sides discussed the possibilities for their further reinforcement and improvement. In particular, they investigated the possibilities for the development of contacts through both central labor organizations, sectorial trade unions, the union organizations of sister oblasts and republics, and the labor collectives of enterprises.

Positive changes in the European and international situation as a result of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, and other countries in recent years were noted during the discussion of international issues. The significance of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the USSR's unilateral decision to reduce its own armed forces, the final declaration of the Paris conference on the prohibition of chemical weapons, and the final document of the Vienna meeting and mandate at the talks on conventional arms and armed forces was underscored in this connection. The delegates believe that the 9th conference of the heads of state and government of nonaligned countries, scheduled for September 1989 in Belgrade, will contribute to the development of egalitarian and comprehensive cooperation between countries and peoples in the political, economic, and cultural spheres. Both delegations support friendly relations and neighborly cooperation in the Balkans and the efforts to disarm the Balkan region and turn it into a zone of peace—efforts which were encouraged by the conference of the officials of central labor organizations in the Balkan countries in Belgrade in 1988.

In the opinion of the two sides, these positive changes will create favorable opportunities for the organization of cooperation by trade unions of various types in Europe and throughout the world in the interest of increasing the contribution of the international union movement to the resolution of global problems.

All of the parties agreed that these talks and the visit of the CTUY delegation in general will aid in the further reinforcement and improvement of Soviet-Yugoslav trade union cooperation, which represents an important factor in the stable development of relations of fraternal friendship between the laboring public and general public of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

CSSR Publicist Praises 1948 Socialist Revolution

PM2702202589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Czechoslovak publicist Jarmila Houfova: "Victorious February. The 41st Anniversary of Socialist Revolution in Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] Prague—The process of the transformation of a people's democratic revolution into a socialist revolution ended in triumph in Czechoslovakia 41 years ago. During 6 dramatic days in February 1948, the working people, by their revolutionary actions, thwarted the counterrevolution's attempt to bring back a capitalist order in the country, and expressed themselves unequivocally in favor of the socialist path of development.

The February victory was by no means a result of outside intervention, which is how hostile propaganda tried to present it. It grew from the logic of internal development, from the free expression of the will of our people. We know that, to this day, February is a thorn in the flesh of our enemies. It was no accident when 20 years later, in 1968, antisocialist forces tried to stage an "anti-February" [antifevral] in our country and restore a bourgeois order. In the social dialogue, in which our Communist Party is taking a genuine interest, and which is inseparable from the process of the economic reforms and democratization of society which is under way in the country, we distinguish between the forces which want to participate in the restructuring sincerely and from socialist positions, and those who are only jumping on the bandwagon in pursuit of aims which are essentially antisocialist. They have failed to grasp that the restructuring which is being implemented in Czechoslovakia, and in other socialist countries, must be the motor of a dynamic development of socialism rather than a brake; must give it new scope, new wings, rather than tripping it up.

But let us return to the memorable February of 1948. The bitter experience of the past exerted a decisive influence on the consciousness of our people. The bourgeoisie had failed to resolve a single one of the working people's vitally important problems during the years of its rule, and proved just as unable when it came to creating equitable relations between our two peoples, the Czechs and the Slovaks. Nothing could wipe the tragic experience of Munich from people's memory when the treachery of the grand bourgeoisie and of Czechoslovakia's Western allies at that time resulted in the liquidation of the republic and Nazi bondage. We had to pay dearly for the restoration of our national freedom and independent statehood. This convinced the broad masses of the people that the bourgeoisie had failed the test of history and forfeited the right to decide the destiny of our country. People had also been able to convince themselves of the correctness of the Czechoslovak Communist Party's foreign policy orientation toward alliance and friendship with the USSR. The Soviet Union was the state which came to the defense of our country against the fascist threat, it was its glorious army which brought freedom to our people at the cost of tremendous sacrifices. We will never forget this.

During the period of the national liberation struggle and in the first postwar years the CPCZ managed to win and unite broad masses of the people for the revolution. In the face of the firm will of the party and the people any attempts of the reaction to halt or even reverse the wheel of history were doomed to failure. And so socialist revolution triumphed for the first time in an industrially developed country with democratic traditions by peaceful parliamentary methods and in accordance with the 1920 Constitution. It was a victory of creative Leninism, a historic success, and a major contribution by our party to the treasure house of the experience of the international communist movement.

Victorious February is closely connected with the name of Klement Gottwald. Under his leadership our party was transformed into a genuinely revolutionary force, it succeeded in making creative use of Lenin's ideas in the elaboration of a complete concept of the development in Czechoslovak conditions of a people's democratic revolution into a socialist revolution. Gottwald's principledness, his loyalty to the cause of the working people, his struggle for the unity and combat capability of the party and its links with the people, for unity between words and deeds, his uncompromising attitude toward the enemies of socialism, and his sincere attitude toward the Soviet Union—all this serves as an example for us to this day.

Gottwald's behest addressed to the party as a whole and to each of its members individually remains topical: Do not allow success and victories to turn your head, and do not be discouraged by failures and defeats.

Today, too, it is necessary for our Communist Party to be equal to the demands of the times. We have the bitter experience of 1968 when in the hour of serious ordeals the party proved without a united and firm leadership.

The path of socialist building to which February opened up the way has been crowned with irreversible social transformations and profound changes in the working people's position. A modern industry was established in Czechoslovakia and new industrial centers sprang up. The task of the transition from individual peasant farming to modern, mechanized, large-scale cooperative agricultural production has also been successfully resolved. People's material well-being has improved considerably over the past decades. Broad sections of the working people were liberated from fear about their existence. Unemployment has been eliminated and a broad system of social guarantees created which apply from the cradle to old age. Access to education has been provided for broad sections of the working people and people's cultural standards have risen sharply.

Our people are proud of their successes achieved during the period which has elapsed since February 1948. However, glancing back, we are aware how complex and difficult the path which we have traversed has been. Alongside the successes there were also failures. It was necessary to overcome both the objective difficulties which arose in the path of socialist building and the subjective mistakes, errors, and deformations which were alien to socialism and caused it great harm.

We regard the sixties as a complex and contradictory period in the development of our society. On the one hand, the society's path during that period was marked with upsurge and progress, and on the other hand, it was precisely during that period that serious difficulties, especially in the economy, began to build. Society's real needs and opportunity and specific Czechoslovak conditions were not taken into account. At that time the transition to the intensive development of the economy accompanied by the corresponding methods of planning and management should have begun as had been decided at the 13th CPCZ Congress. However, the leadership of the party at that time did not react appropriately to these vitally important demands. Problems were resolved half-heartedly, or not at all, and their gravity was suppressed. This caused tension in the country and in society and evoked growing dissatisfaction. The party's combat capability and its ideological link with the people were weakened. All this resulted in a profound crisis in the party and society in the late sixties.

The party has made a detailed analysis of the causes of the crisis, and the experience of overcoming it which had to be paid for dearly, in a document entitled "Lessons from the Crisis Development in the CPCZ and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress." It contains a correct assessment of the events of those days. The CPCZ leadership has emphasized that there is no reason to change this assessment. It has emphasized this in particular because certain representatives of the so-called "Prague Spring" are trying to present the events of 1968 as forerunners of the current restructuring in the Soviet Union and in our country and demanding their reassessment. However, a deep gulf devides the restructuring in the USSR and in our country and the intentions of the right wing of that time. While our common aim is the development of the revolutionary heritage of Great October and Victorious February, the genuine renewal of socialism, and the fullest possible utilization of its advantages, the activities of the right-wing forces were geared to dismantling socialism, no matter what phrases they might use as a cover.

Totally at variance with the aspirations of the people who received the decisions of the CPCZ Central Committee January 1968 Plenum with hope and approval, these forces thwarted the great chance of overcoming the serious problems which emerged at that time.

Following the example of the CPSU, our party has made an analysis of the state and problems of our present society and reached the conclusion that a cardinal restructuring of all spheres of its life is necessary. Restructuring is the continuation of the revolution in new conditions; it is the translation into reality of the behests of Victorious February.

What is the significance of the 41st anniversary of the February revolution for us? It is significant above all because it is being marked in the year in which we must ensure the unconditional fulfillment of the socioeconomic tasks which will enable us to safeguard the stability of our country at home and abroad. By 1 January 1990 the entire Czechoslovak industry must switch to work in conditions of the new economic mechanism. It has already been in operation since the beginning of the current year in agriculture, trade, and public catering. We must advance further along the path of deepening of socialist democracy which is the basis of the comprehensive restructuring of all spheres of society's life and the improvement of the political system.

The significance of the current year also consists in the fact that it is a period of intensive preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress which is to be held a year earlier than planned. During the preparations for its supreme forum, our party seeks to utilize the rich experience of the Soviet Union in the implementation of restructuring. We are particularly inspired by the impetus and decisions of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

At the same time it cannot be ignored that restucturing is a complex process which is taking place in difficult conditions in our country too. On the one hand it enjoys broad public support. On the other hand, various internal and external forces have stepped up their activities in the hope of utilizing the process of restructuring and democratization for their own aims and to destabilize society. Many of them seek to destroy socialism in our country.

We will not allow them to push us from the path of restructuring and democratization. This was emphasized also during a recent meeting between Milos Jakes and leading staffers from the mass media in the course of which the CPCZ Central Committee general secretary pointed out the need to conduct a militant and broad political dialogue with everyone, apart from overt enemies, and to win all honest people over to our side, including citizens who are the target of manipulation and do not have a clear stand. It is necessary to back people and persuade them, M. Jakes stressed, that the path on which we have embarked is the correct one; that that it is within our ability effectively to resolve the tasks and problems which confront us.

Political & Social

More on Election Campaigns of People's Deputies

PRAVDA on CPSU Candidates

PM2702152389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[Viktor Belousov "Publicist's Remarks": "Nominated by the Party"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The other day I overheard a strange conversation in a commuter train.

"No, Rasputin is not among the 'Hundred.' As a matter of fact, I think he is altogether a nonparty person. Belov is one of the 'Hundred.'"

"No, it was actually Rasputin who was nominated," the next person objected.

"Yes, he was nominated. But on which candidates list? The writers'."

So that's it. The writers'. The "Hundred" is the list of candidate deputies from the Communist Party. It does indeed contain 100 names. A lengthy list. Its headline alone runs to two lines. Everyday conversational language seeks a concise substitute. Either by coining a new word. Or by adapting an old one. Just like this unexpected use of "Hundred." Does it matter? You can't find a snappier word to describe the list. My fellow-traveller with the loose-fitting rabbit-skin cap used it quite aptly. I thought that this usage was his own personal invention.

And suddenly I heard a woman say:

"Oh, you have questions to ask about the 'Hundred?'"

This expression is already being used in the premises of the electoral commission for election of people's deputies from the Communist Party. A protocol was being read in this official building. It was particularly surprising to hear that word—"Hundred"—spoken within those walls. It seems that this description of the party list is not used only on commuter trains, it seems that the word has already done the rounds of the streets and managed to weave its way through the labyrinth of Moscow to Vladimirov Proyezd, where the commission is housed. And people there did not consider that "Hundred" might sound a bit too familiar when applied to such a prestigious list of candidates. On the contrary, this translation from official language into folk language indicates that the list is accepted not just by those who voted for it in the spacious and bright hall but also by those in the not-so-bright electric suburban train and in the not-so-spacious rooms which awaited its passengers. [passage omitted]

But let us dwell awhile on the figure before going on to the names. Why 100? 100 candidates for 100 seats. How does this fit in with the country's pursuit of democratization? This is what foreign correspondents asked at the electoral commission. And thank God that they asked politely, rather than being as exasperating as they were at the beginning. The questions were noticeably less impassioned. Either we are beginning to get used to this fact, or we are beginning to realize that 102 names on a list for 100 mandates does not automatically mean that we have two more measures of democracy. Even though, as far as I know, this question was raised at the Central Committee plenum itself: 100 or more, with or without a shrinkage allowance?

I say "as far as I know" because I was not present to see and hear for myself. This is not the first time that there has been talk about giving the press access to Central Committee plenums. After all, the tradition of closed doors does not go as far back as Lenin's time. And if we were to recall whose hands slammed the doors shut in journalists' faces in the past, we would put an end to this practice as soon as possible. Indeed, it is strange nowadays to see a Soviet correspondent's telereportage in the evening following a plenum of either the Yugoslav or Hungarian Communists or to receive detailed reports on supreme forums like a CPSU congress or an all-union party conference, while a solemnly austere television announcer dishes out strictly measured doses of information on a party Central Committee plenum. "Begging your pardon, but what about the list? What about the general secretary's speech? Everything has been published. What secrecy are you talking about?" I hear it said.

But readers say something else: "Why 100?" Why was the multiple candidacy principle rejected?

A natural question, until you get to the crux of the matter. Until you recall that there were some 1,030 contenders at the starting line in the race for the 100 seats. In military terms, this is not a division, not even a corps, it is more like an army. There are certainly plenty to choose from!

There were 312 on the list distributed among the plenum participants. And all 312 were proper fighters. And there were still only 100 seats. However you look at it, 212 had to fall by the wayside. Following the Politburo's lead, the plenum felt it sensible to do this en bloc and avoid possible recriminations: "A-ha, they didn't fancy taking a chance!" They tell us what to do, but it is up to them to cross people's names off if the list had contained, say, 112 candidates. Whose names? The complexities of this question would have become more apparent had the newspapers published the party's appeal in the same issue as the list of candidates. The party's stance on the present and the future. The stance taken by all of its 100 candidates. The selfsame stance that would have been taken by 112 candidates. Which one of them could have been told at the final stage: "You have not taken this stance?" Yes, quite! So what was to be done? Let them nevertheless fight in the election campaign, let them "suffer" for democracy's sake, let them be used as props? Does such crafty democracy befit the party?

This is not the only reason, but it does show: The figure of 100 was certainly not arrived at for the sake of conveniently dubbing the list the "Hundred." As we can see, this decision did not influence the Komsomol, creative unions, or societies which opted for a "contest" between candidates. The party made its own decision without prescribing an electoral medicine for others.

Made its decisions and decided everything in advance? Others may engage in contests, while the "Hundred" need not lose any sleep over it?

I don't know if there is anyone nowadays who feels that he need not lose any sleep over it. Let alone those who will gain their deputy's mandate from the party that is responsible for the present and future state of affairs in the country.

But who are they?

Deputies were previously seated in the hall by territory. The map of the hall where deputies will sit now will be much more diversified. Dagestan over there, trade unions over here; the Urals over there, the Komsomol over here; those are from Belorussia, these are from the movie industry... I have no idea where the party "Hundred" will be allocated their seats. In the center, on the left? But no matter where the "Hundred" get seated, that is where all the rest will focus their eyes at their first sitting. They will, of course, look for faces from the party leadership, since all Central Committee secretaries are among the "Hundred." And next to them....

"There's Velikhov, Velikhov."

He will be recognized even by people who have absolutely nothing to do with physics. They know him from Chernobyl. From that horrific situation. From the time when he appeared there in the footsteps of the firefighting teams. An academician in a lightweight sports jacket, looking as if he had been beamed into that inferno straight from the paths near a dacha by Moscow. He appeared once, twice, three times on our television screens in the evenings, never far away from the deadly ruins. God knows what his outward calm cost him. After all, it was he and another academician—the now late Legasov—who realized best of all WHAT had happened. But our own faces staring at the television screens displayed more tension than the scientists' impersonal images on the screen. That was an example of unequaled composure in the face of a thunderbolt out of the blue. And what a thunderbolt!

And the verdict will be passed when he takes his seat: "Velikhov is also there. Good."

"Who's that one over there, in the glasses? Seems somewhat familiar."

"Come on now! That's Abalkin."

How long is it since we started recognizing the faces of our economic scientists? They used to sit in their cozy nooks, while the state economy appeared before our eyes in the face of the Gosplan chairman or the minister of finance. And since we have such a penchant for things going in threes, let us add the chief of the Central Statistical Administration. But as soon as restructuring became the talk of the town, it appeared that seclusion was certainly not an inbred characteristic of representatives of economic science. They made their way out among the people. Each one in his own specific gait.

Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin is first on the list of Communist Party candidates. In strict alphabetical order. But this order has its own symbolism. Academician Abalkin is remembered by many people for his speech at the 19th party conference and the acuteness of his assessments. You can still see the director of the Economics Institute getting to his feet in the hall to declare: "Comrade deputies, we are being misled. The minister of finance either cannot add up or he cannot bring himself to utter the inflation figure."

And here is an equally grave statement: "People say that there is no mafia in our country. I claim that there is.... Maybe not a Sicilian-style mafia: There people shoot at each other, but here they silently and daily rob and ruin the state, and it is very difficult to do anything about it."

Was this, by any chance, said by some desperate prosecutor?

No, it was said by someone who feeds the country. By Viktor Ivanovich Postnikov, a general director in the broiler industry.

He is also one of the "Hundred." And being an economic manager, he dreams of "experiencing the beauties of economic accountability." What language! "Beauty" and "economic accountability." General directors become poets whenever they sense firm ground beneath their feet. The firm has eight stores in Stavropol, even more are planned for Moscow. It can lend out a million, and not just once. An extremely successful director. Why waste his nerves on some mafia? There are appropriate organs to do that. But he does. And his time at the party conference, which could have been entirely devoted to an agreeable narrative of his enterprise's impressive achievements, was given to his alarm at the mafia's domination. He is not one of those whose concerns begin and end with his broiler business. The only thing General Director Postnikov lacks is sufficient power to enable him not only to deliver meat but also to deal a blow at the mafia. A people's deputy mandate will give him greater opportunities, and Viktor Ivanovich will find something to suggest and someone to ask about today's halfhearted war (or is it still only skirmishes?) against this evil. [passage omitted]

Who else is listed under "A?"

A scientist. A movie director. A school director. A lathe operator. A writer. A kolkhoz party organizer. A newspaper editor.

Where are they from?

Moscow. Tbilisi. Novgorod. Tashkent. Frunze. Kursk Oblast. Moscow.

Different life stories. Different geographical locations. United by their readiness to serve the revolutionary renewal of society's life. As the Central Committee appeal to the party and the people says, "...renewal of the socialist idea itself, freed from the shackles of stagnant dogmas."

It is hard to escape this captivity. Not all the ways have been paved, not all the obstacles have been surmounted. But the party has got this movement going, it is heading it, and it will not halt halfway along the road.

Renewal sets itself the goal of establishing people's power. This is precisely why the party nominates the most active fighters for restructuring, from Ufa decorator Zukhra Maleyeva to General Aviation Designer Genrikh Novozhilov from Moscow, from Party Committee Secretary Viktor Ostroukhov of the "Sibkabel" Association to Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. The list of 100 is not a plaque of honor. It is the list of our society's militant vanguard, of people capable of becoming genuine people's deputies.

'Extremism' in Kazakh Campaign Noted

PM2702095189 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 14 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[KAZTAG report: "Party Attention to Election Preparations: From Conference at Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] Preparations for the elections of USSR people's deputies have entered a new and crucial stage. Registration of candidates is under way and the entire election campaign, which is taking place in conditions of a fundamentally new electoral system, is gathering momentum everywhere. A conference at the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee was devoted to questions of improving party committees' political, organizational, agitation, and propaganda work during this period.

It was attended by Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee secretaries, senior officials of the apparatuses of the Central Committee and Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers, and the Alma-Ata city and oblast party aktiv. Chiefs of party obkom organizational party and cadre work departments were invited to attend the conference.

Reports were delivered by G.N. Korotenko, chief of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Organizational Party and Cadre Work Department, and I.M. Romanov, deputy chief of the Ideological Department. Chiefs of the organizational party work departments of the following party obkoms took part in the discussion of the raised questions: Semipalatinsk—V.M. Bashilov; Dzhezkazgan—K.K. Akhmetov; Kustanay—A.V. Demin; and Chimkent—A.V. Kozyrev; and also Alma-Ata Gorkom—A.S. Sudin. N.V. Bagrov, chief of a CPSU Central Committee sector, delivered a speech.

G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, summed up the results of the conference in a closing speech. [passage omitted]

In a number of okrugs, including okrugs in Dzhezkazgan, Karaganda, Semipalatinsk, and Uralsk Oblasts, 10 or more candidates have been put forward per deputy's mandate. This is not against the Law on Elections, of course, but the point is that as a result of this "flood" of nominations, the candidacies recommended to the okrug committees include people who are far from being the worthiest. There have been cases where in situations of this kind contenders for a deputy's mandate included representatives of extremist action groups, sundry lovers of loud phrases and leftist slogans, demagogues, and simply unscrupulous people trying to exploit the wave of democratization and glasnost in order to mislead voters and make inflated political capital for themselves.

It must be noted that most such people met with a resolute rebuff in labor collectives and at okrug electoral commission sessions. In Kustanay Oblast, for instance, a certain V.P. Tkachenko, leader of a branch of the "Luch" juridical cooperative, tried to push through his candidacy. He resorted to downright forgery, presenting a falsified protocol to the electoral commission, which, naturally, declared it invalid. [passage omitted]

Of late quite a number of unsponsored social formations and action groups of the most varied kind have emerged. Most of them are based on constructive, positive principles and work in close contact with party, state, trade union, and Komsomol organs and other social organizations. There are civic and Komsomol initiative funds, housing and other cooperatives, charities, some of the ecological associations, and so forth. However, from time to time the filthy scum of political extremism is washed up on the wave of restructuring processes. A great deal has already been said about the various "people's fronts" and "democratic unions," kinks in the ecological movement, various nationalist currents, and so forth. Much has also been done to explain their nature to the broad working masses and show up the bankruptcy and the ideological noxiousness of their ambitions, programs, and platforms. It must be noted that in the absolute majority of cases the activities of such unsponsored groups have met with condemnation in the republic's labor collectives and educational establishments and have failed to gain support from the healthy forces in our society.

However, let us not delude ourselves. Unsatisfied ambitions prompt the leaders of these formations and groups to take actions which verge on violations of the existing legislation. They are also trying to abuse for mercenary aims the current election campaign, during which they are propagandizing their views and stances and persistently trying to get their own people into the organs of people's power. They often stoop to using the dirtiest methods and tactics in order to achieve this—they speculate on the objective difficulties of the current complex times, spread rumors and fabrications, and sow seeds of interethnic strife. Thus, under the guise of concern for the development of national cultures, some people are trying to drive a wedge between the party and the people and evoke distrust of the party's political line. At some meetings to nominate candidates for people's deputy, extremist and ideologically immature elements have tried to compromise individual party leaders and rank-and-file Communists whose candidacies have been submitted for discussion by labor collectives.

We must be clearly aware that behind all this is a desire to create new political structures in opposition to the party, to destabilize the situation, and ultimately to arrest the restructuring processes, which are gathering momentum. In this connection party organizations and agitation collectives must tirelessly monitor the entire process of preparations for the elections, control the situation in each specific okrug and polling place, promptly respond to and resolutely rebut unhealthy phenomena, and expose the antisocial, antipeople essence of the platforms of the extremist groups and formations and also individuals essentially conducting antisocialist propaganda.

Naturally, only highly skilled people with the necessary knowledge and experience at their disposal can carry out this work. This is why agitation collectives and information and propaganda groups must include leading party, soviet, and economic workers and the best trained representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia and the party's ideological aktiv. [passage omitted]

Nikonov Addresses Ashkhabad Voters

LD2602121689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 25 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by special correspondent V. Golubev from Ashkhabad; Nikonov's remarks recorded]

[Text] [Golubev] Here in Ashkhabad Nikolay Petrovich Nikonov has been looking around the city and the main cooperative market. Afterward, in his capacity as candidate USSR people's deputy from the CPSU, Comrade Nikonov had a meeting with the voters. He was introduced to the assembly by Comrade Niyazov, first secretary of the Turkmen CP Central Committee. In his speech to the voters Comrade Nikonov said, in part:

[Nikonov] Esteemed comrades, first of all I would like to say how sincerely grateful and appreciative I am that you have come to this meeting—some of you from further away than others. I will try to ensure that our discussion is interesting with straight talking on both sides, particularly since it is taking place at a time when the social and economic restructuring of society is veering sharply toward practical deeds, and when major political reforms are being implemented, that is, at a time when the problems and issues that are of great concern to all our Soviet people are being tackled. There is only 1 month until the elections to the new supreme body of state power which in the forthcoming 5-year periods will determine our country's domestic and foreign policy and provide leadership in the restructuring and creation of a socialist law-governed state.

[Golubev] Comrade Nikonov talked about current problems in the country's social and economic development. Improving the Soviet people's lives is the core of the party's social and economic policy. Since restructuring began there has been a substantial increase in the proportion of capital investment devoted to the social and cultural sphere. Changes are underway in the agro-industrial complex.

[Nikonov] The party's Central Committee is working toward, and considers as its foremost task, a noticeable improvement in food supplies to the country's population, not at some point in the distant future but over the years that lie immediately ahead. This task is perfectly realistic, and we have created the preconditions required to fulfill it. We must work consistently to achieve radical transformations in production and economic relations in the rural areas, to master leasing relations, and to ensure efficient use of the economic potential already created in each farm, each enterprise, and each production area. We must create living and working conditions in the rural areas that are by no means inferior to those in the cities, and as regards most parameters we must create conditions superior to those in the cities. We must continue to build up more quickly the material and technical basis of agro-industrial production in order to make the broad application of intensive agricultural and animal husbandry technologies accessible to every farm and to establish the accumulative process of scientific and technical revolution throughout rural production. [video shows Nikonov at city market; Niyazov and Nikonov addressing assembly]

[Golubev] The candidate USSR people's deputy drew particular attention to the problems of land improvement and ecology.

[Nikonov] In recent years public opinion has been increasingly severe and at times quite simply impatient when, all for the sake of immediate gain, deficiencies are permitted and measures to protect nature are not properly implemented. And then the water, air and land are polluted, and the protective forests are destroyed.

Unfortunately in the lifetime of our generation the environment in which man lives has not been enriched but has rather been impoverished. The rising generation is probably being deprived of significantly more.

The CPSU shares the Soviet people's anxiety over the exacerbation in the ecological situation. It has a sound approach toward tackling the difficult problems that arise in this respect, so that programs to improve and protect the environment and to make rational use of nature are being drawn up.

In Belorussia, the Baltic republics, southern Ukraine, the nonchernozem zone of the Russian Federation, the Far East, and particularly here in the republics of Central Asia the link between man and nature through land improvement is particularly great and is in fact being constantly pursued. It is difficult to imagine how, in the regions of Central Asia, and also of Belorussia and the Baltic, we could increase the output of food resources and raw materials for light industry without land improvement work, including irrigation work.

It is not land improvement that is to blame. Without it life would be quite impossible for many agricultural enterprises, particularly here in the south where for centuries man has been repeating one and the same thing: water is life.

What is bad for everyone are those hastily devised projects with their flagrant breaches in the construction of systems, deficiencies, and poor use of irrigated lands. Not only can one not be reconciled to this for a single month or day: one cannot be reconciled for a single hour to the situation that has evolved.

In the last 20 years—the boom years for land improvement work in terms of volume—agricultural output has increased by almost 300 percent. It used to be worth around R700 million, whereas now it is worth 2 billion. At the same time, production of grain grown on irrigated land has increased 6 times owing to the irrigated lands; raw cotton has increased 2 times—and moreover we, our country, receive the bulk of fine-fibered cotton here—vegetable production has increased 2.5 times; and feed 6 times.

All this has radically altered the socioeconomic life of the rural areas and the republic as a whole. [video: Nikonov speaking from a podium, with shots interspersed of the audience]

*Defense Official's Program Applauded

WA18010504 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 23 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by T. Boykova (Moscow Oblast): "Difficult Lessons of Democracy"]

[Text]It was not easy to get to this meeting. A couple dozen brawny fellows crowding around the entrance of the house of culture and a few passers-by, cautiously looking in all directions, stuck their noses in the door.

"Where are you going? Your documents!"

An attempt to play dumb: "I would like to go to the meeting...." This even roused them a little—so they were not out there freezing for nothing:

"Not allowed!"

The certificate from the editorial office did not help either. The "watchmen" demanded a "special assignment on paper." Only a heartfelt promise to write in the newspaper about everything I was doing put an end to the incident at the door.

The atmosphere in the auditorium was not far from free. This was even expressed externally—in the reactions of those who had gathered for the speech. The range of reactions was even excessively broad—from applause to whistles and foot stamping.

What were they welcoming? Mainly the points of programs envisioning a solution to problems of social direction and social justice. And these were present in the speeches of each of the five candidates, of whom two were representatives of the USSR Armed Forces, two were medical workers, and one was a party worker.

The audience listened attentively and compared, captiously selecting the most constructive programs that envision a real solution to the most critical problems of our lives, and not on the scale of individual regions, but in the country as a whole. And the largest amount of applause was "gathered" by the USSR first deputy defense minister K. A. Kochetov, whose program, in particular, envisioned eliminating "old-timers" in the Army; postponing calling students to active duty until they complete their studies; concrete concern for veterans of war and labor and international servicemen; a solution to the housing problem for people discharged from the USSR Armed Forces into the reserve, and, finally, the declaration: "Maintaining the Army is costing us an immense amount of money. So would it not be better to cut the army by half and use the money that is saved for the development of the national economy?"

There was a good deal that was interesting in the programs of the other candidates as well. For example, that of the chief physician of the central rayon hospital, Ye. M. Tulchinskiy, which calls for an 80-percent rebate from the cost of medicines for all pensioners and special concern for mothers, and that of the first secretary of the Odintsov CPSU Gorkom, S. F. Zhidkikh, who singled out mainly the Food Program.

During the course of the discussions the speakers touched not only on the merits or shortcomings of the programs that were proposed, but also the personal qualities of the candidates. Repeatedly one could hear from the podium: "But what have you personally done for the city or rayon having been a gorsoviet deputy for so many years?" "And where were you during the period of stagnation?"

And then quite unexpected facts burst out. Regarding one question—whether pressure was exerted on the chief physician of the central rayon hospital, Ye. M. Tulchinskiy, when it came around to his nomination as a candidate—things never did become clear. Without giving any names, Ye. M. Tulchinskiy said that there had been pressure. And the first secretary of the CPSU BC, S. F. Zhidkikh, rejected this formulation, saying that with the doctor in the party gorkom they "simply talked about his platform, his work plans, and so forth. Is this pressure?"

But the atmosphere in the meeting became the most heated when they began to give answers to questions. It seems that this was the most difficult for S. F. Zhidkikh. The audience literally threw questions at him: why have they closed the laundries, why are the counters in the stores empty, why do milkmaids milk by hand to this very day? The first secretary certainly did not take responsibility for everything. But after one question from the audience a woman got up and bitterly announced:

"To everything that is asked there is nothing but excuses: I do not know, I cannot answer, this is not the gorkom's affair.... And yet all of these organizations and institutions are headed by Communists, and is it not the gorkom's business to ask them about their work?"

No answer was forthcoming. And this is understandable: What can you say here! So it would not be an exaggeration to say that the atmosphere at the meeting was filled with a spirit of adherence to principles and democracy. Because those who were gathered there clearly understood: our future will depend to a large degree on whom we nominate as candidate for deputy—whether we are fed and clothed, whether the old people and children are taken care of, whether we will be able to breathe fresh air, to work according to our conscience, and to live on money earned honestly.

"The main task of the deputy is to return our faith to all of us, and, the main thing, to give youth a belief that Soviet power is right!" This was declared in the speech by the director of the sovkhoz for decorative gardening in Ruzskiy Rayon, N. I. Prokhorova. And the audience greeted her words with applause.

The meeting ended with K.A. Kochetov being the only candidate registered by the okrug electoral commission.

And now we should like to return to the beginning once again. Because the question will not leave us alone: Who was afraid of what then they cordoned off the area in front of the doors? Why did they study my work pass so attentively time and time again? The chairman of the okrug electoral commission, B. M. Grishin, referred to a decision of the commission, and the workers of the CPSU GC who were in charge at the door of the House of Culture explained simply: "For order!" But is it really not clear that such actions have never served and will not serve the purposes of real rational order which we all ultimately want to impose in our society? Is it not obvious that incidents of this nature run counter to the glasnost and democracy proclaimed by the party? Unfortunately, one still must state that what took place at the door is not just an annoyance but a clear confirmation that the processes of democratization are penetrating the consciousness of the rank-and-file worker much more rapidly than they are the activity of the apparatus and the officials.

Kalmyk Candidate on AIDS Issue

PM2402145589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Article by Kalmyk People's Poet David Kugultinov: "Emergency. Be Good People!"]

[Excerpts] I have been registered as USSR candidate deputy for No 550 Iki-Burulskiy National-Territorial Okrug in the Kalmyk ASSR. My program concerns questions of ecology and the elimination of the consequences of the Stalinist repressions in the life of the Kalmyks, Chechens, Ingush, Crimean Tatars, Balkars, Karachai, and Volga Germans and other people who were deported or were victims of genocide under Stalin. But problems that have cropped up with the appearance of AIDS in the Kalmyk ASSR, which have created a shock situation, have come to the fore today. [passage omitted]

The AIDS virus came to our area from an African country via a man who is not a Kalmyk national. I stress this because in certain circumstances purely medical questions become questions of interethnic relations. Stones are now being hurled at automobiles bearing the autonomous republic's license plates when they appear on the highways of adjacent territories, as if the automobiles are delivering the AIDS virus. The attitude to students from the Kalmyk ASSR studying in neighboring republics has changed drastically; voices can be heard demanding that they be evicted from their hostels. What can you say about neighbors when mothers discharged from the hospital where the catastrophe struck, here on our doorstep in the Kalmyk ASSR, are boycotted and encounter a blind wall of malevolence, suspicion, and hostility. Although there is no question as yet of a mass phenomenon, universal blindness, and brutality, we have more than enough grounds for disquiet in our republic. [passage omitted].

We are all part of mankind. The same diseases affect man irrespective of where he lives. We must teach one another to be worthy children of the earth. A law was recently adopted in the United States imposing tougher punishments for discrimination against AIDS patients. Maybe we also need to adopt a similar law defending the right of these unfortunates, particularly mothers and children, to live the life that fate has in store for them?

More on Chebrikov Kishinev Speech

PM2702112989 Kishinev SOVETSKAYA MOLDAVIYA in Russian 11 Feb 89 pp 1-3

[Unattributed report on speech by V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at a meeting with the Kishinev party aktiv in Kishinev on 10 February: "The Party's Election Platform Is the Real Way To Deepen Restructuring"; for further reportage on this speech, see the 13 February Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 45-49]

[Text] Dear comrades!

As you know, the Central Committee January plenum nominated, for the first time in our party's history, CPSU candidates for election as USSR people's deputies. This was preceded by numerous open and democratic discussions of candidacies in primary party organizations and at enlarged bureau sessions, aktiv meetings, and party committee plenums. In short, the election campaign is proceeding in the spirit of the restructuring processes which have unfolded in the country and in line with the objectives of the first stage of political reform.

The Central Committee plenum backed the proposal that I be nominated candidate people's deputy from the Communist Party. I would like to express heartfelt gratitude to all Communists and nonparty people who made and supported this proposal for their great trust in me and to assure them that I will devote all my energy to deepening Soviet society's restructuring.

It was with great pleasure that I accepted the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee's invitation to meet with the working people and the party aktiv. In the last few days I have had opportunities to visit the labor collectives of a number of Kishinev's enterprises and the republic's Academy of Sciences and meet with rural working people and have had interesting conversations on the most topical problems. Workers, specialists, scientists, and party officials frankly voiced their opinions on the way restructuring is progressing in Moldavia, the main features of the moral and political climate in the republic, and the way social, consumer service, and other questions are being solved. This enables me to make a more realistic assessment of what you have achieved, to get a better idea of your concerns and difficulties, and to feel the convincing support of Soviet Moldavia's Communists and working people for the party's April line and the course of restructuring. This support for the ongoing fundamental transformations in society is a powerful incentive to utilize the current election campaign in the interests of improving all our work.

Mindful of the tremendous significance of the upcoming elections for the country's future, the CPSU Central Committee comprehensively drew up the party's political election platform, setting it out in the appeal to Communists and to the entire Soviet people. I would like to dwell in greater detail on this platform's basic ideas and to say how I see and feel the main problems of acute concern to Communists and all Soviet people. Of course, the initial, most important topic for discussion is the topic of restructuring: How it is going and what must be done to accelerate its pace.

First, about the initial results of restructuring. They are to be seen everywhere in our country. People are changing before our eyes, and the energy of the working class, the peasantry, and the intelligentsia is being emancipated. The party's authority among the masses is strengthening. Intensive factors are increasingly determining the dynamics of social production. National income is growing faster than in the past. And its entire increase is being ensured through higher labor productivity. The retooling of production is proceeding more actively. A tendency to reduce materials- and energy-intensiveness has become apparent. I am speaking of all this in the most general terms mainly because I think that each and every one of you is well aware of the changes in our life. Their significance can be better evaluated if you recall the starting point during the pre-April period from which we embarked on the difficult road of renewing society.

Nevertheless, we all sense the complex and sometimes contradictory way the restructuring processes are going and how acutely the old and the new are at odds. It is clear now that it will take quite a lot of time to untangle the problems which have accumulated.

Appraising the state of affairs in the economy from the position of current demands, through the prism of working people's hopes and expectations, it must be admitted that the ongoing changes have not yet led to a radical qualitative breakthrough. The economic reform's effect has not yet been fully felt. Many difficulties in people's daily life have not yet been overcome. And yet restructuring is being implemented for people's sake. It is being judged now, and will be especially judged in the future, by specific deeds and actual results.

The period of elaborating new ideas and approaches is basically finished. The country has embarked on the second stage of restructuring, the stage of practical implementation of the party's April line. M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, recently remarked that "constructive and creative work today comes to the fore.... Rallies may be more fun but, in order to ensure that restructuring marches on, it is necessary to channel all our intellectual energy toward everyday routine work."

It is, of course, not easy to apply this slogan. Restructuring processes are still in many respects held back by old schemes and stereotypes, established conservative ideas, passiveness, and freeloading. There are still many people who expect some sort of miracle, hoping that someone will open some mysterious door and that a cornucopia of good things will pour out of it. Such illusions must be quickly dispelled. It is necessary to turn working people's minds to reality, to convince them that only selfless labor by everyone on the basis of the new economic mechanisms is capable of ensuring accelerated socioeconomic development. Everyone must seriously step up their work today. A fresh and unprejudiced view must be taken of many familiar things and phenomena.

Such a view is especially necessary in economic leadership. The idea is that the party's main task in the socioeconomic sphere is to skillfully guide and intensify the processes of economic reform. People must be helped to learn to work in conditions of full economic accountability, cost recovery, and self-financing. It is important to be more vigorous in seeking and disseminating valuable particles of new experience of party influence on economic practice. We have such experience, and it must rapidly become available to all party committees and meet with strong support from them.

Party committees and all Communists must be clearly aware of the tremendous load to be borne during the 5-year plan's 2 final years. In this time we have to virtually complete the creation of the economic mechanism which the country must have when embarking on the 13th 5-year plan. It will be necessary to really switch all national economic sectors to the new conditions, to switch to supply via wholesale trade as early as possible, to introduce a new management structure, to activate economic accountability principles at regional level, to elaborate substantiated economic normatives, and to prepare a reform of price formation. All this must be done before the start of the new 5-year plan period. Time is inexorably running out. This cannot be disregarded.

I would like to especially mention the fact that the line adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 19th all-union party conference of the economy's social reorientation must become the linchpin of our entire structural and investment policy and the fundamental basis for determining the pace and proportions of reproduction. People's interests and needs must become the ultimate basis of all transformations, of all the measures that are being implemented or planned. Restructuring was actually launched in order to ensure a sharp rise in the Soviet people's well-being and to make their material and spiritual life richer.

It is necessary to more rapidly change distribution relations. Socialism is a society in which leveling is contraindicated. Equal pay can be earned only through equal labor. Many of our misfortunes and mistakes are due to the fact that this demand has been forgotten at times. It is important to be more energetic in seeking modern approaches toward the organization of production in order to interest working people in the achievement of high indicators on the basis of applying the principle of social justice in the distribution of the results of labor according to its quantity and especially its quality.

The substantial improvement of food supplies for the population is a fundamental question of the party's social policy. Radical measures are being elaborated in the country to accelerate the solution of this most acute question. Active preparations are now under way for the Central Committee plenum on agrarian problems, which will examine the question of making maximum use of agriculture's potential and of the restructuring of economic relations in the countryside. It is a matter of overcoming the peasant's alienation from the land and turning him into a genuine and assiduous steward. The retooling and reconstruction of the entire industry for the processing, storage, and transportation of agricultural produce assume great importance. It is well known that the CPSU Central Committee and the government decided on an unusual measure—they assigned the production of equipment for the light and food industry to the economy's defense sector. This equipment is being planned and developed at a different level, it will be more productive and more reliable.

One of the most important social problems where a breakthrough is really necessary is the problem of manufacturing high quality consumer goods. It is necessary to saturate the market in the immediate future so that people can sense the real results of all our work. It is for this purpose that a line is now being pursued of making more efficient use of the existing industrial potential, creating new capacities, and involving all enterprises in the production of these goods. A role must also be played here by the decision to convert a sizable proportion of enterprises, including industry's defense sectors, to the manufacture of consumer goods.

There are also quite a few problems in the services sphere. The CPSU Central Committee receives many letters testifying that the serious shortcomings existing in this sphere—in the country as a whole and in your own republic—are being eliminated only slowly. How long will people waste time on passenger transport, waiting in lines to use laundries and dry cleaning facilities, or trying to obtain sundry information in housing administration offices and social security organs? When will they finally be freed from the tribulations due to inconvenient working hours by enterprises in the services sphere, public catering, and trade and by health care institutions? There has been more than enough talk on this topic, and yet there has been no noticeable change. Local authorities bear special responsibility for this state of affairs. There is no need for any major capital investment here, what is primarily needed are businesslike efficiency and initiative, a conscientious attitude toward labor, streamlined organization of labor, tactful and attentive treatment of people, and a consistent struggle against boorishness, shortchanging, the giving of short weight, and other abuses by workers in the services sphere.

Daily attention must be paid to the program for boosting the volumes of state, cooperative, and individual housing construction. It is necessary to ensure unconditional fulfillment of the plans for commissioning children's preschool institutions, hospitals, polyclinics, schools, and other facilities for social, cultural, and consumer service purposes. Without them it will be impossible to organize a full life in our cities and villages.

While preparing for the trip here, the CPSU Central Committee secretary went on to say, I familiarized myself with materials characterizing the state of affairs in Moldavia's national economy. What impression did I gain? I saw that the republic is making an appreciable contribution to our country's economy. Much is being done to deepen the restructuring processes. Cardinal changes have been made to the general scheme of national economic management. Intensive factors have a somewhat greater effect on the economy's development. The entire national income growth during the current 5-year plan period has been secured through higher social labor productivity. Targets for purchases of basic livestock products were met in the last 3 years. Targets for state revenues and the cash plan were exceeded last year. All this is quite good.

However, it should be particularly emphasized today that restructuring in the republic is developing slowly and unevenly. In 1988 it was not possible to overcome the lag behind the planned targets for economic and social development. Thus the total volume of produced agricultural output failed to reach the planned level. The plan for deliveries to all-union stocks of meat products was not fulfilled. Labor productivity was allowed to fall in the agrarian sector. Agricultural, procurement, and construction industry enterprises and organizations did not fulfill their plans. State orders remained unfulfilled for one in every four of the most important categories of articles. There were serious breaches of contract commitments, and last year's deliveries by the republic's industry to its partners fell short to the tune of output worth R142 million. This really is a special indicator, and, because of your delivery shortfall, many of the country's enterprises failed to manufacture output for all-union needs in the required volumes. Many shortcomings have accumulated in the development of the social sphere, food supplies for the population, the construction of housing and cultural and consumer service facilities, and medical services for people.

All this attests to the need for the republic Central Committee and government and for party gorkoms and raykoms to abruptly alter their work style and concentrate efforts on the practical fulfillment of the party's decisions on accelerating restructuring in all spheres of social life. It is necessary—not in words but in deeds—to master political methods of leadership and rely more widely on labor collectives and public organizations in everyday work.

It is necessary to intensify the monitoring of the fulfillment of comprehensive social programs elaborated by republican organs. It is necessary to take strictly to task those who retard the process of acceleration through their inefficiency and conservatism. It is important to establish a healthy moral and political atmosphere in every collective and to enhance working people's responsibility for the progress of restructuring.

The public, including in your republic, quite rightly raises sharply questions of environmental protection and the unwise use of chemicals in carrying out agricultural work. We must be thankful to those people who have focused the attention of society on really neglected, painful, and urgent problems. I must say that all these questions cause great concern among the party Central Committee and the country's government. The cardinal solution of many ecological problems has been recognized as vitally necessary for the entire Soviet people, as part and parcel of their economic and social development. Evidence of this can be seen in the start of elaboration of a long-term state program for environmental protection and rational utilization of the USSR's natural resources.

Urgent measures are needed to improve the state of the atmosphere and water supplies in a number of the country's cities and settlements. I think that the solution of this problem lies primarily in the development of technology and the construction of purification installations. In my view, the most important point now is to accurately determine priorities in implementing nature conservation measures. People must be convinced that, in this complex work, it is necessary to avoid hasty decisions prompted by emotions rather than by the impossibility of ensuring ecologically clean production.

In this context, I would like to recall a remark by M.S. Gorbachev, who said: "There are questions which must be urgently resolved. But there are also problems which cannot be raised immediately. We all have our feet on the ground, we know the financial situation and the economy, and we know what we have to do. All this must be borne in mind so as not to give the impression that he who says 'Let's go' is a patriot, while he who pauses to think how to do it is no longer a patriot. Everything must be examined honestly and objectively." I think that this remark is apt for the most diverse situations in life.

We all must bear in mind that all sort of rumors, conjectures, and unnecessary emotions spring out of the lack of information, half-truths, and inability to give people an intelligent and objective explanation of the real state of affairs. It is necessary to always act with calm and consideration, to bear state interests in mind, and not to go to extremes.

Our entire society is now on the move, it is seeking, V.M. Chebrikov went on. Our energies and designs are largely fed by democracy and glasnost. Why has the party Central Committee posed questions of broadening democracy so consistently and sharply, and why does it continue to do so? Because Soviet society's attainment of a new level of democratization and glasnost makes it possible to resolve increasingly complex tasks, primarily those connected with the general process of restructuring.

In short, it is only through democracy and thanks to democracy that restructuring becomes possible. It is only on this basis that the working people's living creativity and the people's self-management can be given truly broad scope. The experience of the last 2-3 years has convinced us all that a radical political reform is necessary if restructuring is not to falter. It is through improved management forms that the people can be involved in the processes of society's renewal. We will not resolve the pressing economic problems unless our superstructure starts functioning efficiently.

The current election campaign reflects the profound purport and substance of our democracy and socialist people's power, which are being revived in the process of the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society. Practical work has been started to reorganize the supreme organs of state power and to improve the activity of soviets. The recently held CPSU Central Committee plenum and the work of the Central Electoral Commission, okrug electoral commissions, and the commissions for election of people's deputies from public organizations have moved considerably further along this path. Not everything is yet going without hitches or within the framework of free and democratic exercise of citizens' electoral and other political rights. In a number of areas of the country there have been attempts by elements with extremist leanings to influence candidate people's deputies to make them withdraw their candidacy, and also attempts to make voters vote for or against nominated candidates. The ambition and egoism of sundry political demagogues and their handfuls of supporters have been displayed in some places. Such phenomena are incompatible with the principles of democracy and glasnost. They need a sharp political and legal evaluation. It is necessary to create all the necessary conditions guaranteeing citizens' freedom to express their will during the preparation for and holding of the forthcoming elections. On the whole, there is confidence that the elections being held in line with new principles will be for everyone a genuine school of democracy and will enable our country's citizens to promote to state management their best representatives who are capable of struggling actively to implement the tasks of restructuring and who know how to organically link their voters' needs with the interests of the entire people and with the tasks of developing all of society.

Much still has to be done to fundamentally strengthen guarantees of citizens' rights and freedoms. Soviet society is steadily emerging onto a qualitatively new level of openness and glasnost. The mass media are working more efficiently, and criticism and self-criticism have expanded. People are becoming less fettered and more active, are acting more confidently, and are coming out firmly against everything that holds up restructuring. Unfortunately, we also encounter people who are intolerant of other people's opinions and who try to inflame passions and to speculate on the processes of broadening democracy, pursuing their own egotistic ends. But the advantages which we derive by speaking truthfully and openly to people about everything are considerable, and they greatly outweigh the negative aspects and our problems.

At the same time there will be far fewer problems if party organizations explain our understanding of democracy more convincingly. For it presupposes not just rallies and debates but also high responsibility, discipline, order, organization, and the organic unity of rights and duties. I believe that the entire atmosphere of our life must now be imbued with the idea of everyone's high personal responsibility for the fate of restructuring and for the specific task entrusted. It is important now for everyone to understand that labor constitutes the basis of life. For it is precisely labor that shapes the person, the citizen, morality, ethics, and so forth. It seems to me that the quest for a different path outside this framework is tantamount to trying to pull yourself up by your own hair.

The real success of restructuring will be ultimately determined in the production sphere and will be achieved by the workers' hands. The working class is the one which, in K. Marx's words, personifies the working people's "social mind" and "social heart" and which is the main driving force and executor of our socioeconomic development plans. The CPSU Central Committee is convinced that our country's working class, with its rich labor traditions, will honorably withstand all hardships, will scale new heights, and will make a worthy contribution to the cause of restructuring.

Comrades! The party Central Committee believes that the strengthening of socialist legality and law and order in the country is an inalienable part of the improvement and deepening of democracy. Legal questions are of ardent concern to the public. You feel this at meetings with working people, in the press, and in letters sent to the Central Committee. Many people have their say on questions relating to the concept and notion of the socialist rule-of-law state. There are very different opinions both of a theoretical and of a practical nature—which is natural. The truth is born of debate, of a contrasting of different viewpoints. But the process does not stand still. People's power is developing in the country, the influence of public organizations and movements is growing, and legislation is being updated.

Very important laws have been adopted recently, and a number of new draft laws have been prepared and are being carefully gone through. The practice of publishing draft laws for broad discussion by all citizens will be continued. The active involvement of scientific research institutes, scientists, labor collectives, and public organizations in preparing and approving draft laws, the use of in-depth sociological research, and the study of public opinion with regard to legal problems are proposed. Account is being taken of foreign experience of lawmaking activity and, primarily, of course, of the socialist countries' experience.

The draft Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Criminal Legislation are now being discussed in the country in an exceptionally committed and fruitful way. The rigorous clarity of the draft and the humaneness of the norms enshrined in it are noted. At the same time people quite rightly say that socialist humanism has nothing in common with liberalism toward thieves and hooligans, killers and rapists, bribetakers and speculators. Many suggestions are being made and are being carefully taken into consideration and interpreted.

Painstaking work is being done in the country to regularize and resolutely reduce the prolific masses of departmental normative acts. We proceed here from the premise that justice and the law must promote restructuring, give it comprehensive legal backing, and reliably defend citizens' rights and legitimate interests. This must organically include protection of the individual against violence and against encroachments on his life, health, honor, and dignity. The citizen's responsibility to the state and society will also be enhanced.

All this great multifaceted work is to bring us steadily closer to a genuine socialist rule-of-law state and is designed to ensure the unconditional supremacy of the law in all spheres of social life and the high level of the person's social protection, to rule out any arbitrariness, and to substantially enhance the prestige and role of the court and of prosecutor's office supervision and the functional efficiency of the militia and of the legal profession. In short, our goal is to ensure reliable juridical guarantees of legality and of citizens' rights and duties, to integrate legality into the culture of society, and to create all conditions for the triumph of justice, for people's free life. I would moreover like to note that this is complex work which will take time and require a scientific approach and the contrasting of different and sometimes diametrically opposed viewpoints.

We certainly must have a scientifically substantiated legal policy and a well developed system of law in keeping with the changes in various spheres of the life of society. But it is not, of course, a question of the number of laws. It has to be said that even now we have many good laws which really express the people's will and reflect the principle of social justice. The crux of the matter is to ensure that these laws "work" efficiently. Because it is precisely in the practice of applying legislation and other normative acts that the regime of socialist legality takes shape—the safeguarding of law and order, of the interests of society, and of citizens' rights and freedoms is ensured.

The prestige, principledness, and militancy of people's and workers' control are now being revived. Public controllers have begun more actively exposing and publicizing cases of mismanagement and extravagance and violations of trading regulations. This is one more good sign of society's growing intolerance of any negative phenomena in our life.

I believe that the processes taking place in society are increasingly insistently placing on the agenda the question of intensifying Soviet people's education in the spirit of respect for laws. Tolerance of people's actions which were unusual even yesterday creates in some people feelings of total license and impunity. Unfortunately, there are frequent calls to ignore various instructions and legal requirements and to virtually destroy the legal basis of social life.

Of course, obsolete rules must be quickly revised and changed, but those which are in force must be fulfilled and applied scrupulously and, I would say, pedantically. Everybody knows the enormously high cruel and bitter price that had to be paid for breaches of instructions at the Chernobyl AES and for other breaches which resulted in serious accidents.

In short, there is an urgent need to create a unified state system of universal primary juridical education in the country and radically improve legal education. The CPSU Central Committee is working through proposals on this score. Here it is not just a question of extending the practice of explaining articles of the Criminal Code but of resolutely reorienting the corresponding propaganda and ideological-political work toward fostering mature awareness of the law. A person of high political standards and lofty spiritual needs must be the objective of such education. In this sense I share the alarm voiced in certain recent articles that it is precisely poor culture that is one cause of the moral downfall of many people and that causes them to commit antisocial acts.

The strengthening of legality and law and order is a matter for our entire people. But party, soviet, and law-enforcement organs are primarily responsible for it. They have only to relax attention to growing negative trends somewhere, and a serious complication of the situation ensues.

I must say in this connection that the level of crime in the country gives rise to serious concern. The number of murders, cases of grievous bodily harm, robberies, muggings, thefts, and offenses in public places increased last year. Child and teenage crime increased and took on the form of organized group crime, for example, in Kazan, Taganrog, Lipetsk, Morshansk, and a number of other cities.

The situation in your own republic is unfavorable in this regard. Last year Moldavia recorded the country's highest growth in crime—56 percent. The number of group crimes doubled. Bluntly speaking, a critical situation has developed as regards the maintenance of public order in the streets of cities and other population centers and in places of working people's mass leisure, where crime has quadrupled. It is there that one in every three crimes is committed. There has been an appreciable increase in the number of crimes committed by adolescents, more than one-half of them pupils at general educational schools and vocational and technical schools. Drunkenness has a serious negative effect on the state of law and order in the republic. There has been no improvement as regards the state of affairs in the safeguarding of socialist property.

On the whole, the situation is extremely grave. An analysis shows that this is largely associated with errors in party, soviet, and economic organs' organizational work. Many comrades assume that the struggle against crime is a matter for law enforcement organs alone. This is incorrect. The situation must be remedied without delay, the coordinating role of soviets of people's deputies in work to influence negative processes must be intensified, and the activeness of labor collectives, people's detachments, and other organs of self-organized public activity by the population must be boosted. It is, of course, also necessary to enhance the efficiency of the work of law enforcement organs and to quickly eliminate the serious shortcomings existing in their activity.

It has to be admitted that one reason for the growth in crime is that a considerable number of employees of the organs entrusted with fighting it, quite frankly, display passiveness and even confusion, fearing rebukes that their legitimate actions in suppressing offenses under the new conditions may be regarded by someone as violations of democracy and citizens' rights. Certain gaps in our legislation are also having an impact here.

In short, the existing system for combating antisocial manifestations does not meet modern requirements. Active measures are now being taken to restructure the work of prosecutor's office and internal affairs organs on the basis of a comprehensive approach to resolving the multifaceted problem of ensuring legality and order. Important steps have been taken to intensify the struggle against organized crime and other dangerous types of crimes. I believe that all these measures will produce the greatest return if law-enforcement organs feel the active help and support of broad sections of the population and of every honest Soviet citizen.

Life has shown that in a multinational country such as ours any questions of a socioeconomic, political, cultural, or legal nature must be pondered and resolved with due regard to interethnic relations, the CPSU Central Committee secretary emphasized. Unfortunately, this has not always been the case. In addition to the incontestable achievements in this sphere, many problems have accumulated and conflict situations arisen. We feel this particularly acutely now. Restructuring and the broadening of democracy and glasnost have fully highlighted these problems and brought us to the urgent need to make fuller use of the national factor in the matter of society's radical transformation. Detailed counsel with the party and with the entire Soviet people is needed. One of the upcoming CPSU Central Committee plenums will sum up the debate taking place in our country and formulate the party's updated nationalities policy on the basis of Leninist principles. The Central Committee proceeds here from the premise that we must have a strong center and strong republics. It is necessary to achieve true harmony of the interests of all nations and ethnic groups and, without fail, their coordination with all-union interests on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism, independence and responsibility, mutual assistance and fraternity. All this is possible only on the paths of restructuring.

The Communist Party is the mighty unifying force in our society. Party influence is strengthening in all spheres of the implementation of nationalities policy. The aim of party organizations and committees is to eliminate without any delay everything that complicates interethnic relations and to resolutely counter any attempts to direct natural national feelings into the destructive channels of nationalism.

The Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee is carrying out certain work on generalizing the experience which exists in the republic of improving interethnic relations and on formulating constructive proposals. It is important that this work not be confined to offices. It is necessary to go to people more boldly, consult with them, listen to them attentively, explain party policy, and prompt working people to resolve urgent problems.

This is especially necessary in view of the fact that tension in interethnic relations has recently developed in the republic and sundry extremist elements have become active, fanning nationalist sentiments and voicing territorial claims against neighboring republics. These irresponsible statements and negative actions must be resolutely rebuffed with sound arguments. As a rule, conflict situations develop wherever ideological education work, attention to people's needs and demands, and concern for their interests and requirements have been slackened. Not everything can be resolved at once, but the people must be honestly and openly told about this and the priorities and action programs must be determined jointly with them. The republic's party and soviet organs and its ideological aktiv must firmly take the political initiative, must consolidate all healthy forces in society on the basis of internationalism and restructuring, and must accelerate the competent and public study of questions raised by the public.

There is something else I would like to say in this context. The question of language is now being discussed in the republic actively, and at times with excessive emotion. This is no simple question. Its solution demands a really weighty, considered, and responsible approach, consideration of the interests of all peoples living in Moldavia, and consideration of all-union interests. It is necessary to heed the opinion of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and the republic's entire population. Haste, pressure, and imposition of one's own views are unacceptable here.

We are all living at a crucial, critical time. It is necessary to do everything to ensure that every Soviet person is profoundly aware that only in the friendly family of equal peoples united on truly democratic principles is it possible to ensure the progress of each nation and ethnic group and of our common homeland—the USSR.

Comrades! Our party is now facing complex and responsible tasks. I think, however, that one of them must be singled out in particular. It is the activation of profound and comprehensive restructuring within the party itself, a change in the form and methods of its own work. Life constantly presents us with new and complex problems. In order to find the best possible solutions in today's conditions, it is especially important to be more active in mastering political methods of leadership and the ability to work among the masses, to take into account the interests of different population groups, to help eliminate differences, to promote common goals to the forefront, and to consolidate the forces of restructuring.

The correct party line toward trade unions, the Komsomol, and other public organizations assumes great importance. These relations must be based on the principles of trust, mutual respect, and demandingness. At the same time, practice testifies that party, soviet, and economic organs do not always pay due attention to, for example, the Komsomol's affairs and young people's life. Young people frankly say that their useful initiatives still come up against their elders' inertia, indifference, and unwillingness to support innovations. The development of young people's creative labor associations is obstructed by departmentalism and the inadequate normative-legal base. Ambitious individuals are frequently making more active use of platforms to address young audiences, quite often in pursuit of their own selfish interests.

The 19th all-union party conference, set the goal of fully reviving the Leninist concept of the CPSU as the political vanguard. You know that, in accordance with the conference guidelines, measures are being implemented in all components of our party to enhance the efficiency of party work, broaden internal party democracy, ensure collective party leadership, and enhance the role and significance of elected organs.

We must all remember that the party's vanguard role is created by every party organization and every Communist. This is manifested in specific practical deeds. It is very important to ensure in every party organization a principled, businesslike atmosphere characterized by openness, humaneness, and mutual exactingness of Communists. No party member, whatever post he holds, must be beyond control and criticism or be protected from responsibility for his actions and deeds, above all before his own primary party organization. It is necessary to try to ensure everywhere that primary party organizations really are the political nucleus of labor collectives. Precisely they must find and advance to the front lines of restructuring its true superintendents. Restructuring has a special need for strong and bold people. Advance would be impossible without vivid personalities everywhere—in production, at scientific research institutes, or in party work.

The party and every Communist must now selflessly champion the April line. It is necessary to know how to defend restructuring against irresponsibility and extremism, against demagoguery and adventurism, and to protect it from everything extraneous and accidental.

In this connection I would like to say that individual so-called informal associations are doing considerable harm to the strong positive public movement which has brought to life processes of our society's further democratization. Coming under the influence of extremist leaders, they embark on a path of antisocial and illegal activity. While demagogically declaring their support for restructuring, they hinder it by their actions. There are also frankly antisocialist elements which are attempting to create political structures opposed to the CPSU. We must, of course, react to such attempts and actions. It is necessary to make a principled political assessment of the programs and actions of self-motivating associations from the viewpoint of these programs' and actions' conformity with the aims of our society's renewal. In this we must be guided by the decisions of party organs and by the corresponding legislative acts, and we must deal a resolute and public rebuff, from Marxist-Leninist positions, to the leaders of those formations which seek to push the masses onto a path of anarchy and lawlessness, onto a path of destabilizing the situation, onto a path of creating legal and illegal structures in opposition to the party.

Experience of work in the new way has confirmed the key role of Communist leaders and the party aktiv in restructuring. It is where the leadership and the party aktiv are restructuring themselves at an increasing rate that the matter has really gotten going. Unfortunately, this is not happening everywhere. Individual leaders have proved unprepared to demonstrate with deeds the rightness of party decisions, and they take a passive stance in the struggle against shortcomings and even display personal immodesty and dishonor. This is why everyone must restructure himself more actively, self-critically assess what has been achieved, act boldly and creatively, and skillfully mobilize Communists for questing, innovation, and specific practical deeds. It is necessary to cultivate a free exchange of opinions in collectives and learn to accept criticism correctly. Only in this case will everyone speak the truth and act according to his conscience.

The current report and election campaign in the party has, on the whole, taken place in just such a key. A wide range of problems were discussed at the rayon, city, oblast, and kray report and election conferences. They focused their attention on tasks of a social nature and the introduction of the new economic mechanism. They urgently raised questions concerning unity of word and action, the achievement of a qualitatively new level of ideological backing for restructuring, and the intensification of party organizations' influence on the processes of shaping public opinion and the working people's political awareness.

Delegates made numerous useful suggestions and critical remarks and reacted negatively to statements abounding with general reflections and self-praise. Elected organs were shaped in the new fashion and elections were held democratically, on the basis of alternative candidates. There were many instances when Communists expressed lack of confidence in some party committee secretaries and did not elect them for a new term. Authoritative, principled, and competent party members joined the leadership of party organizations.

The results of the conferences and their typical atmosphere of openness, the amicable and constructive criticism, and the concern for the state of affairs in the region and the country testify to Communists' resolve to ensure steady implementation of the course of revolutionary renewal in all spheres of social life through specific practical deeds. This is very important at present also because our party is essentially beginning to prepare for its next, 28th congress.

I want to especially emphasize that we are solving the complex and responsible domestic policy tasks in conditions of a generally favorable international situation. The concept of new political thinking which has been advanced by the party has imparted dynamism to Soviet foreign policy, whose aim is to improve the health of international relations. The Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of some nuclear arms was concluded and is being implemented, the pan-European process has been revived, and promising prospects have emerged for the political settlement of regional conflicts.

There was the broadest possible positive response in the world to M.S. Gorbachev's recent UN speech and his meeting with the U.S. administration. A principled and constructive program of specific actions was formulated in New York to shape an all-embracing system of international security, to democratize and internationalize international relations. The announced initiatives on unilateral reduction of the Soviet Union's Armed Forces and armaments are assessed everywhere in the world as unprecedented and testifying to our commitment to a defensive military doctrine. This is indeed so. At the same time, the party Central Committee believes that the decisions we have made will not result in weakening the country's defense capability.

The realism of the Soviet approaches toward the building of a secure structure of the world community creates a fruitful basis for active international collaboration not only on the problems of disarmament but also on solving key contemporary problems like economic development, the ecology, humanitarian cooperation, and so on.

The Vienna meeting of states participating in the pan-European process ended successfully. The final document adopted at the meeting has raised this process to a new level. For the first time, along with confidence- and security-building measures, it examines questions concerning the practical reduction of armed forces and conventional arms. A serious step forward has been taken in the sphere of human rights and the humanitarian sphere, in the development of economic and cultural cooperation.

The decision to hold humanitarian conferences in Paris, Copenhagen, and Moscow assumes major importance. It testifies to progress in one of the most complex and delicate spheres of the talks. A common platform has been found and sound recommendations have been worked out by countries with different approaches toward the solution of the package of humanitarian problems.

The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government are fully resolved to continue their persistent work, together with the leadership of the fraternal socialist countries and other states, to build a nuclear-free world, free mankind from global dangers, and deepen its progress on the basis of the principles of common sense, balance of interests, and priority of values that are universal for all people on earth.

Concluding my speech, I would to emphasize once more that under modern conditions much depends on everyone's personal stance. Particularly important is the stance of a person who, thanks to the trust of voters, may be promoted to direct management of state affairs.

Summing up what I have said, I would like to tell you that with both my mind and my heart I ardently support the party's April line, and I consider restructuring my vital concern as a Communist. My election program proceeds entirely and fully from the 19th all-union party conference decisions and from the CPSU Central Committee Appeal to the Party and the Soviet People. I perceive those documents as a guide for action, as a mandate to a candidate people's deputy from the CPSU.

I would like to assure you once more that I will devote all my energy to justifying the great trust of the party, which has nominated me candidate USSR people's deputy. Allow me to wish you and all working people in your republic great successes in the cause of restructuring, in your labor for the benefit of our motherland!

PRAVDA Corrects Gorbachev's 23 Feb Kiev Speech

PM2502154189

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 25 February, Second Edition, p 2, publishes a correction to its report on M.S. Gorbachev's speech at a meeting with working people of the city of Kiev that took place on 23 February. PRAVDA's report on the speech, published on pp 1-3 of the 25 February issue, First Edition, is identical to the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 24 February report on the same speech, which was published in the 24 Feburary Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pp 57-68, under the subhead "Gorbachev Addresses Kiev Workers." PRAVDA corrects the report on Gorbachev's speech as follows:

"In the published text of M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the meeting with working people in Kiev, the paragraph beginning with the words 'During the years of the 5-year plan, the average annual production of grain...' [p 60, column one, paragraph 4] should be placed three paragraphs later following the words '200,000 apartments have been constructed in the republic over and above the plan.'" [p 60, column two, first paragraph]

More on Estonian Independence Day Celebrations

'Only Extremist Slogans' at Rally

PM2702151789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Feb 89 First Edition p 4

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent Captain Third Rank V. Urban report: "Tallinn: Flag Over the Old Tower"]

[Text] Estonia celebrated the 71st anniversary of its state independence 24 February. A week before this an Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium decree proclaimed it an official holiday—Independence Day. The legislative act says that this decision was based on proposals made by the population, labor collectives, and public organizations and movements.

It was decided to hoist the blue, white, and black national flag over Tallinn's Big Herman Tower. So, this solemn ceremony took place at 0835 hours. Several thousand townspeople gathered on the square by the Estonian SSR Council of Ministers building. All the neighboring streets were full of people. The republic's leaders and the leaders of certain public movements attended the ceremony. V. Vyalyas, first secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, delivered to the gathering a speech entitled "Let Us Pool Our Endeavors." He said: We have today revived an important landmark in our history—Independence Day—and we have taken yet another substantial step toward restoring our age-old rights and national consciousness.

History can be hushed up for a while but it will hardly be forgotten. This is what happened to 24 February 1918. The address from the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers says that the Great October Socialist Revolution created the preconditions for the self-determination of the peoples of Russia. Estonia's inhabitants took an active part in the events of October. It was then that the exceptional situation was created whereby the Estonian Bolsheviks had the opportunity to implement V.I. Lenin's proposal concerning the proclamation of Estonian statehood on the basis of nations' right to self-determination. However, this chance was simply not taken then....

That is the historical background to the present holiday. It is up to the people themselves how they decide their future. The blue, black, and white flag was hoisted at dawn over the old tower as the republic's flag. We will agree that this is a truly important event for Estonians. This cannot be denied. At the same time this holiday, as the republic's leaders have noted on several occasions, does not negate the anniversary of the formation of the Bolshevik Estland Labor Commune that was suppressed by the White Guards and the formation of the Estonian SSR in 1940.

One cannot, however, fail to express one's grief that only extremist slogans could be seen on the streets on Tallinn on such a holiday. What is the point, for instance, of banners bearing the following slogans:

"Down With the Occupation of the Baltic republics!" or "No to the Estonian SSR, Yes to Free Estonia!".... [the article is accompanied by three photographs apparently showing: a section of the crowd at the public meeting, some carrying the Estonian tricolor; a group of participants carrying Estonian-language placards demanding "An End to Occupation of the Baltic States," and calling for the renaming of a site after the last preoccupation president, Konstantin Patsi; a shot of the Big Herman tower with the tricolor flying].

I went up to one of the participants in the festivities. Like many other people, he was carrying the national flag. I was surprised by the fact that attached to the pole was... a black ribbon. Why?

"Isn't it obvious?" the reply came. "The flag has been permitted. But we've still not got independence."

Unfortunately, such opinions also prevailed at the rally organized at midday on the square by the old Tallinn Town Hall. Representatives of the Latvian People's Front, the "Sajudis" movement from Lithuania, and Belorussian "informals" took part in it. Members of the notorious "Democratic Union" from Moscow who had come to Estonia organized a "mini news conference" here. Pay R1 and get "SVOBODNOYE SLOVO"—the union's news bulletin.

A news conference was held 24 February in Radio House for Soviet and foreign journalists. M. Titma, secretary of the Estonian Communist Party Central Committee, gave the following response to the question whether Estonia is seeking to leave the Soviet Union: "I can reply unequivocally. We see that we will benefit if we can indeed act independently as a sovereign republic in a single union with other such states. That is why we are endeavoring to restore our sovereignty within the framework of the union."

An Estonian People's Front resolution published in all the newspapers anticipated the state decision to celebrate Independence Day. It is a matter of honor for the leaders of a front that was proclaimed to support restructuring to take a sober look at the negative elements in the development of the situation. There are many reasons for this.

The lowering of the Estonian SSR State Flag 23 February from the Big Herman tower aroused a fairly stormy reaction in some Russian-speaking labor collectives. It will now be kept in a history museum. The next morning when the aforementioned ritual began at the Council of Ministers building, workers from the M.I. Kalinin plant raised the Estonian SSR State Flag over the production unit. An impromptu meeting began unexpectedly. Here is the comment passed on this event by S. Pasko, member of the board of the United Council of Labor Collectives encompassing enterprises under union jurisdiction:

"Representatives of seven enterprises whose collectives are members of the United Council of Labor Collectives came to the Kalinin plant and urged workers not to take any actions in contravention of the law. The situation was ostensibly defused. At the same time a resolution was adopted which expressed a negative attitude toward the holding of Independence Day. An appeal was also made to the republic's government."

A corresponding assessment was also voiced at a rally of war and Armed Forces veterans organized by Interdvizheniye on Soviet Army and Navy Day. Here, in particular, it was said that hoisting the blue, black, and white flag would not reduce tension and might even increase it. The flag itself is, of course, of no account here, it appeared last century as a symbol of the struggle for national independence. The fact that some people tried to exploit the situation for unseemly ends is another matter.

The Estonian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree said that questions of state emblems will be examined at a session of the republic's supreme legislative organ. Thus, the question of the status of the blue, black, and white flag is still open. I would like to hope that it will be resolved with consideration for the opinion of all Estonia's inhabitants, irrespective of their nationality.

Tallinn's Streets 'Packed'

LD2502112489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Today is Estonian Independence Day. This holiday has been instituted by decision of the presidium of the republic's supreme soviet.

[Correspondent Kh. Lenk] Tallinn's streets and squares were packed today. The Estonian republic declared 71 years ago today was the first independent state of the Estonian people. And that is how we regard the anniversary today. At 0830 today, at sunrise, the blue, black, and white flag of Estonia was hoisted on top of the Long Herman Tower. [passage omitted]

[Lenk] How do you regard the fact that we have officially started celebrating this date—Estonian Independence Day?

[K.S. Khallik, identified by caption] I see this as the rightful rehabilitation of the people's historical memory. Throughout the 50 years that this day was officially hushed up, it was nevertheless alive in popular memory as an important milestone in national history. I believe that the legalization of this historic date will, in the new conditions, help us live creatively and to set about tackling those tasks which we link with restructuring in a responsible way.

[Lenk] Vayno Vyalyas, first secretary of the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee, was present at the rally dedicated to Independence Day and delivered a speech. [video shows crowds gathered at rally, waving national flags]

Speakers at Independence Day Program

LD2702115189

[Editorial Report] Tallinn Domestic Service in Finnish at 1600 GMT 24 Feb 89 carries a 17-minute recorded program to mark Estonian Independence Day, starting with a report from a Tallinn rally. Reception is poor. The correspondent recalls briefly the formation in 1918 of the Republic of Estonia and describes the impressive and solemn celebrations. He describes the speakers as members of the republic's leadership and public figures. The first speaker is prime minister Indrek Toomes; who speaks in Estonian, which fades into Finnish translation.

Toome says: "Esteemed people of Estonia, honored guests. The Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party, the presidium of the supreme soviet of Estonia, and the government of the republic greet and congratulate you on the occcasion of Estonian Independence Day. The flag unites and gives strength when it inspires people to fight for freedom, independence, and human dignity. The colors of the Estonian national flag have expressed the aspirations of the Estonian people since long before [words indistinct]. The tricolored flag was created as a result of the nation's ideological aspirations, (?in) a sense of togetherness and selfesteem [sentence indistinct] We hope that, supporting each other, we can (?advance) toward an even better and more (?hopeful) future."

The correspondent describes the hoisting of the Estonian flag, followed by the singing of the national anthem. He then introduces writer Jean Kross, who speaks in Estonian fading into Finnish translation.

Kross says: "May the flag up there be a factor to unite all the progressive forces of this country and the united representatives of other nationalities observing the good tradition of loyalty, as we go together toward greater independence and (?more extensive) democracy. Let us make use of the social situation, let us use it as well as we can to learn democracy and to increase it around us and in ourselves. Let us make use of the opportunity for peaceful, consistent, balanced, but also unyieldingly persevering activity with the aid of the old [word indistinct] and the flag, which has been raised high today."

The next speaker is Edgar Savisaar, a leader of the Estonian People's Front. He speaks in Estonian, fading into Finnish translation:

"The raising of the flag means for us finding ourselves. We have gained a moral victory. When we said last autumn that Estonia is in our hands, and when we now gradually begin to believe that the government too can be in our hands, we raise this flag as a fighting flag and we declare that under this flag we will have next autumn a new Estonian parliament, elected in accordance with the will of the people, and in the hands of the right men. The People's Front proclaims its unswerving line on just this question. We are building a new Estonia. The face of the new Estonia is not turned toward the past, but toward the future. With this flag we show that we are Estonians, but it is equally important for us to show that we are also Europeans. This is a demand that was established by young Estonia as early as 1905. The time has come to advance through Europe into the rest of the world. We want to take our flag there, too."

The correspondent introduces the next speaker, Kuno Pajula, Archibishop of the Evangelical-Lutheran Church of Estonia, who speaks in Estonian, fading into Finnish translation.

Pajula says: "My dear countrymen and women. In participating in this solemn occasion we are part of something very symbolical: We have gathered today here on this Toompea hill at a moment when there is darkness on one side and light on the other. There is room here for [word indistinct]; it reminds us of the fact that every nation has its own difficulties, its own struggle and trials. We can say that we have passed through the trials and reached the light. The issue for our nation—our existence—has gained continuity, and we hope for continuity in future. May God's grace be with you."

A song follows. The correspondent introduces the last speaker at the rally, secretary of the Central Committee of the Estonian Communist Party Vayno Vyalyas, who speaks in Estonian, fading into Finnish translation. Vyalyas says: "Esteemed people of Estonia. Today we have regained an important milestone in our history. We have regained our Independence Day. We have taken one more step on the path of restoring our inalienable rights and our national (?independence). Today the national flag of Estonia waves in the Pikk Hermann tower. This day is one of the important days, of which we have had many in the past year. This is a day wich gives us more unity, self esteem, and faith in the future, everything that a nation needs in a critical period. History has been severe toward us; it has brought suffering, and not only suffering, it has also set up walls of misunderstanding between us. The Estonian Communist Party realizes and admits this and does not underrate its responsibility for the past. That is just why the Estonian Communist Party has special responsibility to ensure a brighter future for the Estonian people. The Estonian Communist Party of the future must be a party of the people, which rules on the basis of a mandate given by the people."

The program ends with the correspondent describing the end of the rally, marked by the playing of the song 'My Fatherland is My Love', which many years ago replaced the Estonian national anthem. The song follows.

Lithuanian Independence Day Coverage Criticized

PM2802111189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent L. Kapelyushnyy "Rejoinder": "Different Readings"]

[Text] Vilnius—Lithuania celebrated Independence Day in February for the first time in many years. The Freedom Monument, which had been removed in the fifties, was restored, and a large number of people attended its unveiling.

I will now cite a long quotation from the official report of TASS' sister organization, Lithuania's ELTA:

"The Freedom Statue on its high pedestal was unveiled by the architect Vitautas Landsbergis-Zhyamkyalnis, one of the republic's most respected citizens and a former Lithuanian Army volunteer. As if waiting for this moment, the sun started shining and a flock of doves flew up into the sky.

"There was a minute's silence in memory of those who died for Lithuania's freedom. The Lithuanian SSR national anthem was played.

"Lithuanian Foreign Minister Yuozas Urbshis spoke. (footnote—Yuozas Urbshis served as foreign minister in the bourgeois Lithuanian Government)

"Having clung to his steadfast spirit while in Stalin's torture chambers, the Lithuanian republic's last foreign minister called for people to express their love for their motherland with deeds rather than words....

"The patriotic song 'We Were Born Lithuanians' was played. The members of the Lithuanian Movement for Restructuring for the Inhabitants of Lithuania Sejm took an oath. It emphasized: " 'Sajudis'" will strive to ensure that Lithuania becomes the way that people want it, and that the aim of 'Sajudis' is a free Lithuania."

Now, instead of a commentary, here are a few extracts from the stenographic record of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum held the other day.

"Things have reached the point where it is being explained openly through the press and television that Communist Party leaders such as Antanas Snechkus and others were enemies of their own people. This is while bandits who sadistically killed men, women, children, and old people are today being called partisans who fought against the occupation for Lithuania's freedom. They are now heroes. The biggest hero and patriarch of Lithuania is Landsbergis-Zhyamkyalnis, the father of Vitautas Landsbergis (chairman of the 'Sajudis' Sejm—L.K.), the same person who on 23 June 1941 was a member of the Lithuanian Activists Front Government and a minister. He and others signed a declaration expressing their gratitude to 'Adolf Hitler, the savior of European culture, and his army... for liberation.'" (Extract from the speech by Yonas Guretskas, secretary of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium)

"The 'Sajudis' leadership... adheres to a line clearly opposed to the Lithuanian Communist Party. Many representatives of this movement, speaking at all kinds of venues, have been accusing the republic's party organs of allegedly slowing the processes of democratizing society's life and the shaping of national self-awareness through their political decisions and practical activities." (Extract from the report by Algirdas Brazauskas, first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee)

Needless to say, ELTA staffers may have their own opinions and views about Landsbergis, Sr and about the processes taking place in Lithuania. But in this instance ELTA is doing nothing short of undermining concepts and ideals. For those who wanted to see Lithuania under Hitler, the former minister Landsbergis-Zhyamkyalnis is a highly respected citizen. For those who would like to resurrect the past in today's Lithuania and who long for the bourgeois past, he is also highly respected. But does all Lithuania think the same?

The mass media, as has recently been stated at conferences and aktiv meetings, the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee plenum stressed, should cover current events and processes not as they are seen by one or the other side, but rather objectively—and above all, they should promote the consolidation of the restructuring forces.

Lithuanian Scientists Support Official Language

LD2502003489 Vilnius in Lithuanian to North America 2300 GMT 24 Feb 89

[Text] A group of Lithuanian scientists, including Academicians (?Ionas Lankutis), Vitautas Statulyavichyus, (?Yurgis Vilemas) and Doctors of Science (?Vitautas Anresus), (?Alexandrus Vanagus), and (?Albertus Zelatoris), have published an address to all non-Lithuanians in this republic. They urge them to reread the decree on the Lithuanian language being the official language of Lithuania. These prominent scientists call upon non-Lithuanians not to submit to various provocations.

This address was, of course, prompted by the recent meeting that was held by the Yedinstvo Movement. The scientists believe that the organizers of the aforementioned meeting read the decree, yet their interpretations were full of extremist and (?egoistic thoughts). At the same time, it is clear that the decree does not restrict the usage of other languages; it only cancels the discrimination of the Lithuanian language in Lithuania, and that is the thing that makes them feel so angry—they oppose the Lithuanian language being the official language of Lithuania. They also oppose the growth of the use of the Lithuanian language in official documents.

The supporters of the centralized rule from Moscow understand quite well that if the Lithuanian language strikes strong roots in this republic's life, then they will lose the status of omnipotent rulers. The scientists say that the present attitude of the Yedinstvo Movement toward the Lithuanian language is the wish to oppose the nations and bring them to the fighting sides. The Lithuanian scientists are once again calling upon all decent Russians, Poles, Belorussians, and other nationals, especially those who believe the Yedinstvo's claims, to think all this over and to establish the truth for themselves. The aforementioned group of Lithuanian scientists assures all non-Lithuanians that there is no need to worry about (?it), the more so because the usage of other languages and their rights are well outlined in the decree on the Lithuanian language itself.

*Lithuanian Journalists' 'Separatism' Condemned

WA18000558 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 8, 22 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by Ye. Domnysheva: "Reorganization or Separation?"]

[Text] A republic congress of the journalists union was held in Vilnius at the end of January. There was talk that they decided at the congress to withdraw from the USSR Journalists Union.

Judging from the discussions of the participants in this forum, the discussion was heated, and many of the suggestions contained demands to radically change both the status and the very essence of their work. Some things were adopted and some rejected.

The deputy chairman of the board of the Lithuanian Journalists Union elected by the extraordinary congress, Vilyus Kavalyauskas, said:

"The eighth extraordinary congress of Lithuanian journalists was convened to determine a more active position for journalists in the restructuring processes that are taking place in the republic.

"As for the separation of the republic journalists organization from the USSR Journalists Union, this is not mentioned either in the regulations or in the resolutions of our congress. This rumor apparently originated out of a misunderstanding: The congress merely restored the Lithuanian Journalists Union, an organization (it was founded by eminent journalist-democrats of prewar Lithuania such as Yustas Papetskis) whose activity was illegally curtailed in 1940.

"It says in our union's regulations that relations with the USSR Journalists Union will be determined by agreement. A special commission is already preparing a plan.

"I repeat: The extraordinary congress of Lithuanian journalists declared not separation but rather independence. The economic accountability and cultural and political activity of the republics and the ideas advanced at the 19th all-union party conference—these are our guidelines.

"We think that essential changes are needed in the structure of the USSR Journalists Union as well. In our view, the board from Moscow cannot control the budgets of the republic unions by order and should not become a barrier to contacts with fraternal unions and foreign organizations. Both the structure and the management staff should be determined locally, and we should live within our means.

"Our new regulations establish a journalists fund for Lithuania."

From the department of sociopolitical life of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA:

This is certainly not the first time that announcements of this type have come from the Baltic republics from our correspondents and our readers. And behind each of them is a question: How are we to understand the appeals for independence if the motives of separatism are becoming so obvious?

We admit that not everything is clear to us concerning the stands of people and organizations that demand independence and even separation when it would seem that we should be discussing the most elementary thing—greater territorial independence and the development of social self-management, which is natural for the process of democratization. Of course it is also possible to speak about the principles of federalism, but no agreement will ever be one-sided. That is why it is an agreement. But when the Lithuanian journalists, without asking the opinions of the other side, "independently" make a decision to switch over to a contractual basis with the USSR Journalists Union, does this not thus look like a diktat against which they themselves would also rebel?

Cost of Afghan War to Latvia Discussed

LD2702181589 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2103 GMT 19 Feb 89

[From the "Amber Coast" program, presented by Janis Udris]

[Excerpt] There is one more event, which I would like to term the most important one this week.

On Wednesday [22 February], the last Soviet soldier left Afghanistan. Some of our country's media, following the old routine, still talk about a limited contingent, about international assistance, and about an honorably fulfilled duty. However, more realistically critical assessments are increasingly being heard.

Between 1 and 2 million of our country's citizens had been drawn in into the almost 10-year-long war. Almost 50,000 have fallen in Afghanistan, i.e. three times as many as cited in the information provided up until the present. Approximately 150,000 soldiers have been wounded or maimed. Each day of the Afghan war cost the [Soviet] state R15 million. One year cost the total amount of all the losses caused by the earthquake in Armenia. And in what units could the moral losses to our country's international prestige be measured?

The wounds of Afghanistan have also caused pain in Latvia. More than 50 Latvian youths have fallen on the distant battlefields. A memorial service took place on Wednesday at the brethren's Riga Cemetery. [passage omitted]

*Latvian Bodies Impose Fee on Immigrant Workers
WA18280073 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYAin Russian 23 Feb 89 p 2

[Article by V. Proskura: "Control by the Ruble"]

[Text] The Council of Ministers and the Latvian Council of Trade Unions have passed a resolution on measures to end the unfounded automatic growth of the population and to regulate migration processes.

One of the main points of this decision is the introduction of a mandatory fee for the ministries, state committees, enterprises, institutions, and organizations, including social and cooperative ones, of R15,000-R25,000 for each new worker arriving in the republic and for each member of his family. The money will be directed to the discretionary fund of local ispolkoms.

More on Moldavians' Rally on Language Issue
LD2702163489 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1515 GMT 27 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Yesterday, in the capital of the Moldavian Soviet Republic, the people held rallies to demand the reintroduction of the Moldavian language on an equal footing with the obligatory Russian language. About 20,000 people took part in the demonstrations even though the Moldavian authorities forbade participation in the rally. The forces of law and order attempted to break up the rally when the demonstrators moved toward the building of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. [passage omitted]

The participants in yesterday's demonstrations also demanded the reinstatement of the former orthography. About (?64) percent of the people of Moldavia are native Moldavians, while Russians form nearly 12 percent of the population.

Moldavian Plenum Examines Commissions' Makeup
PM2402132989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Dictated by Restructuring"]

[Text] Kishinev, 23 Feb—A Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held here today. It examined the question of the composition of Central Committee commissions.

The plenum stresed that the formation of commissions under the republic's Communist Party Central Committee—on organizational party work, ideology, questions of socioeconomic development, questions of the agro-industrial complex, and state law questions—is regarded as an important measure designed to comprehensively promote the development of collective leadership within the party and make fuller use of the wealth of practical experience acquired by the republic party organization's elected organs in resolving tasks of restructuring.

S.K. Grossu, first secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee, spoke at the plenum.

V.P. Nikonov Pays Visit to Turkmenistan

Visits Turkmen Establishments
LD2502133489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 23 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Viktor Petrovich Nikonov is in Turkmenistan. [passage omitted] A vegetable and fruit-drying line operates successfully here in the processing shop of the "Sovet Azubayzhany" sovkhoz and factory. [video shows Nikonov walking past the line with his entourage]. At the sovkhoz the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee chatted to lessees. [passage omitted] There was a conversation about the scientific and technical assistance to these collectives and on priority provision of transport for them.

Scientists of the Turkmen Agricultural Research Institute showed their works to Comrade Nikonov. [video shows Nikonov and others looking at sowing machines and components of them] This precision sowing machine can save up to 70 percent of seeds and guarantees increased yield up to 40 percent for grain, vegetables, and cotton. But these machines can only be seen in operation at experimental farms. Viktor Petrovich Nikonov advised the scientists of the institute to undertake work on the assimilation of the equipment directly with subcontracting and lessee collectives on an economic basis.

At the (Giorskiy) Raypotrebsoyuz food processing combine, a sausage shop and bakery are in operation. Here the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee commented on the initiative of the collective and its determination to manage matters as restructuring demands. [passage omitted]

Viktor Petrovich Nikonov visited the USSR's only Desert Institute at the Turkmen SSR Academy of Science. The institute has become a world center for the study and assimilation of arid zones of the planet, but in the republic itself, as the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee noted, the results of the institute's work are being introduced very slowly.

Visits Chardzhou Oblast

LD2602114489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; unidentified correspondent's video report from Chardzhou Oblast, Turkmenistan]

[Text] Comrade Nikonov's visit to Turkmenistan continues. Khalturin kolkhoz in Chardzhou Oblast is a large multisector farm. There are 381 settlements in its territory. In recent years particular attention has been paid here to social development. Suffice it to say that integrated centers such as this are already in operation here with stores, library, consumer services, and sports amenities. The CPSU Central Committee secretary conversed with the inhabitants of a settlement and visited the home of construction on the farm is being carried out economically. [video: Nikonov tours social amenities and chats with inhabitants]

The Kolkhoz builders also erected this storage facility for grapes and melons that will hold 200 tonnes. As you see, the quality, of the produce is excellent, while the outlay has been recouped in just 1 year. [video: Nikonov and group view storage facility; close-up of melons, Nikonov is offered a section of melon]

If only the construction workers erecting Chardzhou confectionery factory worked in similarly. The construction site is due for commissioning, but the end to its construction is not visible yet. Work to the value of about R7 million has yet to be carried out. A sharp discussion took place here. Comrade Nikonov stressed the fact that 30,000 tonnes of confectionery products are supplied to the republic annually, while everything necessary exists for the republic to produce its own high-quality confectionery products. The blame for the lag in completing this project rests to a great extent on Chardzhou Oblast agro-industrial committee. [video: Nikonov tours construction site and talks to a group of people]

The approach of the drainage pipe works and the Lenin chemical works is different. The first has mastered production of pipes that are insulated with basalt fiber, which sharply enhances the quality of irrigation systems. Chardzhou chemical works produces fertilizers, plant-protection agents, and polymer sheeting for hothouses. The transfer to financial autonomy has freed the hands of the collective. Not only is it constantly increasing production, but it is also turning out new products, for instance, fosfogips [compound of phosphorus and gypsum] which makes it possible to to bring the sands near oases into agricultural use without upsetting the ecology. [video: Nikonov in factory interior]

[Announcer] Viktor Petrovich Nikonov had a meeting today with the party and economic aktiv of Chardzhou Oblast.

Buryat Ethnic Concerns Surface in Ulan-Ude Oblast

PM2202142589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondent A. Zhdanov dispatch under the rubric "On a Topical Theme": "Bad Luck Rather Than a Fault"]

[Text] Ulan-Ude—The editorial office of PRAVDA BURYATII has increased the number of copies printed on Tuesdays and Fridays. On these days the Russian-language organ of the CPSU obkom, the autonomous republic supreme soviet, and council of ministers started conversational Buryat language lessons on its pages.

It is common knowledge that the state of the mother tongue is a kind of barometer of the development of national culture. Yet a recent okrug preelection meeting in Ulan Ude furnished an object lesson of the role which the mother tongue is beginning to play in politics.

In the course of the meeting, one of the would-be candidates, a 40-year old Buryat VUZ lecturer, who had devoted part of his program to problems of national culture and interethnic relations was asked a question in Buryat. The man on the rostrum was able to make out the meaning of the question, but he began to answer in Russian....

The audience which was approximately half Russian and half Buryat reacted correctly. Even sympathetically. But sympathy apart, the results of the secret ballot revealed that the VUZ lecturer was not selected as one of those whom the meeting proposed for registration as candidate deputies. Those who were, spoke their mother tongue fluently.

This was not their only asset. But most probably it played its role. Especially, as the programs of all the would-be candidates were similar, including their proposals on ways to develop national culture and interethnic relations. Against this backdrop an answer in Russian from a local inhabitant was clearly not to his advantage.

I am aware that this criticism is not entirely fair. It is through bad luck rather than their own fault that many, especially urban, indigenous inhabitants of Buryatiya have a poor command of their mother tongue and that sometimes they are better informed about foreign currents that the creative works of their own people.

The causes of this paradoxical situation date back to the times of Stalinism and the years of stagnation when in the Transbaykal region, as elsewhere, monuments of national culture were destroyed, when its manifestations were labled as "vestiges of the past," when local talents were leveled, and sometimes even persecuted, and when the study of the Buryat language was reduced to nought.

Only with the beginning of restructuring and the arrival of new forces in the leadership of the autonomous republic the dissatisfaction of the public which had been suppressed in previous years made itself heard, and a turning point toward the thorough solution of the problems which had accumulated in national culture was effected.

The heightened attention toward national culture manifests itself in many ways. These include the current study of the mother tongue in Buryat schools, the provision of this opportunity in schools in the republic capital to children of any nationality should they so desire, the publication of the journal KHARAASGAY (Swallow) in two languages which is a nice gift to the children, and the "legitimization" of the traditional New Year holiday "Tsagaalgan" marked under the Lunar calendar, and many other steps.

It would be naive to believe that all this work is proceeding without a hitch. For instance, the "scientific-and-practical" conferences devoted to topical problems of Buryat schools that are being held in the autonomous republic do not entirely justify their title. So for instance the latest such conference, the fourth held in recent years, failed, despite a multitude of interesting ideas that were put forward and despite the usefulness of direct exchanges of experience, to elaborate concrete recommendations for the future.

This is perhaps too much to hope for, since some of the decisions that have been adopted are poorly implemented. For instance, under a resolution of the party obkom, Buryat schools were to be supplied with new textbooks and other literature during 1986-1990. Yet so far, 2 and ½ years after the adoption of the resolution teachers still have to rely mainly on their own experience and suggestions from like-minded people.

Modern, accessible dictionaries, handbooks, and phrasebooks are also lacking. A considerable section of the Buryat population including the cities of Gusinoozersk, Zakamensk, Kyakhta, and a number of rural rayons are unable to watch the local television program and broadcasts in the Buryat language.

The increased interest in the mother tongue and national culture does not always receive prompt material and ideological backing.

The flaws of this attitude are obvious. They were highlighted by the proposal to turn the Buryat language into the state language which rang out during the public debate. This, in my view reflected, wittingly or unwittingly, disregard for the interests of a tangible majority of the republic's inhabitants constituted by the Russian-speaking population. This disregard is also borne out in the idea which originated in Ulan-Ude scientific circles suggesting that Buryatiya and the two Buryat autonomous okrugs—the Ust-Ordynskiy and Aginskiy—located in the neighboring Irkutsk and Chita Oblasts should be amalgamated....

All this shows most emphatically how important it is not just to embark on a fundamentally correct course, but also to persistently and consistently translate it into reality by means of concrete actions. These include the intiative of Doctor of Philological Sciences S. Budayev, staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Siberian Branch Buryat Scientific Center and PRAVDA BURYATII journalists who initiated Buryat language lessons on the pages of the republic press.

Introducing the first lesson, the newspaper recalled an old maxim which is assuming a special meaning today: "It is not a disgrace not to know, it is a disgrace not to learn."

Zaykov Addresses VUZ Rectors 17 Feb

PM2302154189 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 89 p 1

[MOSTASS correspondent B. Shestakov report: "Capital's VUZ's: Experience of and Plans for Restructuring"]

[Text] Graduates from the capital's higher educational establishments worthily represent the capital's powerful scientific and educational potential far beyond Moscow and even abroad. Many of them are working successfully in the USSR national economy and in various spheres of science and technology, many are playing a leading role in the restructuring of Soviet society. The city's 76 VUZ's train cadres in 297 different specialities and conduct important research work.

However, in recent years the capital's higher educational establishments have been experiencing serious difficulties connected above all with a considerable lag in their material and technical base and poor departmental coordination. These and other problems were comprehensively analyzed at a meeting between L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and Moscow VUZ rectors held 17 February. The meeting was attended by senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR and RSFSR Councils of Ministers, and USSR Gosplan, leaders of a number of central ministries and departments and the Moscow Gorispolkom, first secretaries of the capital's raykoms and rayispolkoms, and secretaries of VUZ party organizations.

The meeting was addressed by: V.N. Vinogradov, chairman of the Moscow VUZ Rectors' Council and rector of the Moscow I.M. Gubkin Petroleum and Gas Institute; Yu.A. Ryzhov, rector of the S. Ordzhonikidze Moscow Aviation Insitute; V.F. Stanis, rector of the P. Lumumba University of the Friendship of Peoples; V.R. Kuchma, party committee secretary of the Moscow No 1 Order of Lenin and Order of the Labor Red Banner I.M. Sechenov Medical Institute; A.V. Novikov, rector of the All-Union State Order of the Labor Red Banner Institute of Cinematography; I.N. Orlov, rector of the Moscow Order of Lenin Power Engineering Institute; G.N. Andreyev, party committee secretary at the Moscow Machine Tool and Instrument Building Institute; B.S. Mitin, rector of the Moscow K.E. Tsiolkovskiy Aviation Technology Institute; G.A. Balykhin, first secretary of the Cheremushkinskiy CPSU Raykom; A.G. Gryaznova, rector of the Moscow Financial Institute; G.A. Yagodin, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Public Education; Yu.D. Zheleznov, rector of the Moscow Steel and Alloys Institute; and I.A. Rogov, rector of the Moscow Meat and Dairy Industry Technological Institute. They emphasized that higher education is faced with important, large-scale tasks in training highly qualified specialists capable of thinking innovatively and wisely and of really joining in the radical restructuring of society and in accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

L.N. Zaykov addressed the meeting participants. Speaking to you as a candidate USSR people's deputy from the Communist Party, he said, I would like to emphasize that the cause of restructuring needs competent, highly skilled specialists. This is an important provision of the CPSU election platform. Higher educational establishments make a weighty contribution to the city's development and the training of cadres and they conduct scientific research in many national economic sectors. Each year more than 25,000 young specialists enter the production, social, and cultural spheres in Moscow. Scientists from the capital's VUZ's account for 22 percent of the total volume of development work carried out by the country's VUZ's.

Unquestionably, the effectiveness of this work is largely determined by the state of the material and technical base. The provision of VUZ's with teaching and laboratory premises and sociocultural and consumer facilities does not meet present-day requirements and is a serious factor hampering the restructuring of higher education and the enhancement of the quality of specialists' training.

Even by comparison with other higher education centers, Moscow VUZ's are in a poor position. Yet the capital, where the most highly skilled cadres are concentrated, bears the main responsibility for the training of specialists in the sectors which determine our country's social and scientific and technical progress.

Over the past 10 years more than 1.2 million square meters of educational and laboratory premises and cultural and consumer facilities have been commissioned. However, the state of Moscow VUZ's has not improved substantially. Planned construction takes place greatly behind schedule or not at all.

The development of VUZ's' material and technical base in the current 5-year plan is causing serious concern. It was planned to assimilate R279 million, commission 578,000 square meters of floor space, build 10 student hostels with 8,000 places and 3 apartment blocks, and to complete a whole series of major complexes. However, in 1986-1988 contract organizations fulfilled only 75 percent of the volume of construction and installation work.

The fact that capital investments in recent years were channeled almost exclusively into new construction, ignoring the need for the reconstruction of the existing base, is also affecting the state of VUZ's' material base. The necessary mutual understanding between contract organizations and clients is lacking. Party raykoms and rayispolkoms are doing little to influence the progress of construction work.

The prevailing situation needs to be radically revised. The rooted opinion that the Moscow Gorispolkom is responsible for VUZ's located on the territory of the city must be jettisoned. Each VUZ has a specific patron who bears full responsibility for it, be it the USSR State Committee for Public Education, the RSFSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Civil Aviation, or another ministry.

Aware of the tremendous importance of Moscow VUZ's for the country's national economy, we will not remain on the sidelines either. We must fundamentally change our attitude and eliminate the leftover principle in planning the development of the city's higher educational establishments, which represent a most important and in many respects decisive sector of the development of the capital's social sphere.

The CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum and CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolutions have defined the tasks of the large-scale reform of higher education. It is necessary to substantially increase the volume of capital investment in VUZ construction. Provision is made for this in the "Progress-95" draft comprehensive territorial-sectorial program, in which problems of the city's socioeconomic development are examined comprehensively for the first time. We are pinning great hopes on the development of contract relations between VUZ's and the sectors which require specialists.

A pressing question in higher education is territorial management. Higher and secondary specialized teaching establishments fall within the sphere of competence of the Moscow Committee for Public Education. However, through the fault of certain ministries and departments, this problem has been left hanging in the air.

Moscow needs an organ to manage higher and secondary specialized educational establishments, be it a subdivision of the gorkom, or a regional center subordinate to the USSR State Committee for Public Education or the Moscow soviet. It would be expedient to entrust to this center the generalization and dissemination of progressive experience, analysis of the demand and utilization of specialists, and the involvement of VUZ scientists in the solution of problems in the comprehensive development of the region. It is necessary to make provision for the establishment of various teaching and scientific subdivisions, enterprises, and establishments for the provision of medical, housing and municipal, and cultural and consumer services for general use.

While increasing assistance to VUZ's in consolidating their material base, we are also entitled to expect from them a considerably increased contribution to the city's development.

A most acute problem for Moscow remains the lack of coordination in scientific research. This results in unjustified duplication and difficulties in the introduction of research results. An effective means of resolving this problem is the establishment at VUZ's of cooperatives for the introduction of scientific achievements. However, it is also necessary to ensure that VUZ's' own introduction services sharply increase their efficiency.

The introduction of economic accountability is expanding in VUZ's, although it is true that so far this applies mainly in the scientific sphere. A paramount task is to ensure the expansion of the training of cadres in promising new fields of engineering and technology. The practice of comprehensive allocation of specialists to enterprises to resolve complex production tasks is also gaining ground.

Relations between students and lecturers are becoming more democratic. Sociological surveys and questionnaires are being used more and more widely in the study of students' opinion of the restructuring of the teaching process and students are being invited to attend departmental meetings.

At the same time there are also factors which hamper progress. There is, for instance, teaching cadres' insufficient professional and pedagogical standards.

There are disproportions in the structure of cadre training, which leads to a surplus of certain specialists and acute shortages of others. One reason for this is the excessive scale of evening and correspondence courses.

It is extremely necessary to define the role and place of the capital in the unionwide system of training specialists. It appears expedient to train students from other cities mostly in specialities for which training is not available outside Moscow. At the same time the capital's VUZ's could increase the scale of cadre retraining and the number of specialists trained for the municipal economy.

The renewal of Soviet society and the expansion of glasnost and democratization have evoked an unprecedented surge of activity among students. Young people's interest in sociopolitical questions has risen and their desire to gain a deeper understanding of the essence of the changes which are under way and to adopt a worthy place in the process of restructuring has intensified.

But alongside this there are also other phenomena: a negligent attitude to work and sociopolitical activities, freeloading and consumerism, ideological and spiritual omnivorousness, a weakening of socialist ideals, and social passiveness. These stem both from the period of stagnation and from shortcomings in the organization of teaching and educational work.

The enhancement of young people's social activeness is by no means proceeding smoothly. Our ideological opponents and demagogues masquerading as "true champions of restructuring" are trying, sometimes very skillfully, to make use of this process. Worryingly, their activities are not being perceptibly rebuffed at VUZ's.

The responsibility for the state of educational work among students and the creation of a healthy ideological atmosphere in VUZ's falls primarily on institute leaders, party committee secretaries, and Communists and on CPSU raykoms.

Poor knowledge of young people's views and moods, inability to influence young people, and a slow and painful discarding of dogmatic principles are still characteristic of a considerable proportion of social scientists. The character of teachers is the main factor hampering the restructuring of the teaching of social sciences. Very few of them can serve as an example worthy of emulation by students. Certain social scientists try to gain prestige among students through the use of "ultrarevolutionary" language and seek to gain acceptance among students for dubious views under the guise of debating clubs.

Lately cooperation between party committees and the capital's social scientists has been stepped up. However, certain scientists have proved unready for work in the new conditions and for actively participating in the molding of Muscovites' political awareness. Yet wherever we do not show due activeness in raising and solving urgent problems and do not act "preemptively," scope for speculation, fabrications, and demagoguery appears.

Today's constructive discussion will undoubtedly mark an important stage in the restructuring of higher education in the capital and the solution of its urgent and long-term problems, L.N. Zaykov said in conclusion. The creation of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Ideological Commission will make it possible to establish a more constructive dialogue with the Rectors' Council, the

VUZ public, party organizations, and social scientists. Our regular meetings and exchanges of opinion will ultimately help to enhance the level of party leadership of Moscow VUZ's.

Taking part in the discussion of the issues were: V.V. Ryabov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department; G.S. Strizhov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau for Social Development; V.M. Petrov, chief of a sector of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department; V.T. Saykin, chairman of the Moscow Gorispolkom; and N.M. Andreyanova, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom.

Council of Ministers Analyzes Foreign Trade

LD2602014989 Moscow TASS in English 1737 GMT 25 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 25 TASS—Matters aimed at further refining the work of Soviet foreign economic organisations abroad and raising their role in the Soviet Union's effective economic cooperation with foreign countries were analysed today at a meeting in the USSR Council of Ministers.

A report to this effect was made by Vladimir Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and the chairman of the Council's State Foreign Economic Commission.

The activities of Soviet trade missions were also analyzed during the meeting. Attention was drawn to the need to enhance analytical and forecasting work and to consolidate the Soviet exporters' positions on the external market.

Those present decided on priority directions of work and tasks of foreign economic organisations abroad at a time when all amalgamations, enterprises, production cooperatives and other public organisations of the country have been granted the right directly to carry out export-import operations on the basis of combining the interests of the whole state and cost-accounting incentives.

Supreme Court Plenum Discusses Labor Camps

LD2702154989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1416 GMT 27 Feb 89

[By TASS correspondent Nikita Demidov]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Feb (TASS)—Last year 57 camps were eliminated in the USSR, and another 37 were transformed into labor and treatment centers. It is planned to eliminate another 30 camps in 1989. This was announced at a USSR Supreme Court plenum that ended its work here today.

In particular, the plenum discussed the issue of judicial practice with regard to cases involving crimes committed in corrective labor institutions. In his speech, Robert Tikhomirov, chairman of the Criminal Cases Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court, noted that the level of crimes committed in places of confinement still remains high. Around 4,000 crimes were committed in camps in 1988 alone. Unfortunately, crimes in camps are sometimes also committed because of the failure to observe the law on the part of the administration itself: Last year more than 5,000 workers in corrective labor institutions were punished for various infringements of legality because of excessive length of the working day, failure to provide time off in lieu of work done on free days, and the unjustified imposition of harsh punishments for trivial infringements of procedure. It is necessary for the courts and procuracy bodies (there are 127 procuracies in the USSR that oversee the observance of legality in corrective labor camps) to tighten up their control over the activity of the camps' administration.

On the other hand, the humanization of criminal legislation is directly related to the conditions in which inmates of corrective labor institutions are kept, it was stressed at the plenum. An inmate should be temporarily transferred to more severe conditions within the camp (a solitary confinement cell, cell-type accommodation) for the violation of refusing to obey the administration's legitimate demands, only with the agreement of the supervisory commission of public representatives that exists at every camp independently of the camp authorities.

It was stressed at the USSR Supreme Court plenum that the courts must apply more widely the practice of conditionally discharging or reducing the sentences of those who have fimly chosen a course of reform. But, at the same time, careful attention must be paid so that, for mercenary motives, the camp's administration does not include those who remain socially dangerous.

Reportage on Circulation of AIDS in USSR

Health Minister on Anti-AIDS Program

LD2302114889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 21 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] An all-union extraordinary antiepidemical commission session has been held at the USSR Ministry of Health. Our correspondent interviewed Minister of Health Chazov. [video shows Chazov being interviewed by unidentified correspondent]

[Begin recording] [Chazov] Today we have to state that the AIDS virus is circulating in the Soviet Union. There are 147 carriers. And that is not the only thing. If you take the Ellista tragedy, we have discovered that the source was a person who had been working in Africa in 1981-82. We do not know even today what may happen. There are relatively healthy people going about who are carrying the AIDS virus.

[Correspondent] The main thing here of interest to our viewers is what must be done specifically.

[Chazov] Whereas previously we had a central laboratory and center, we now believe that such centers must be set up in every republic. The government has adopted the decision to set up such a state program. It is to include the development of new methods of treatment, such as developing vaccines, for example, looking for new medicines of the AZT type for treatment, and a whole range of other things.

[Correspondent] Forgive me, but it is reported that in the United States an effective medicine has appeared against AIDS. How far does that correspond to reality?

[Chazov] A medicine has indeed been obtained. But that medicine is not a cure for AIDS; it does not destroy the AIDS virus. Rather, it only helps the treatment of pneumonia which can complicate or arise during the development of AIDS; only that. But it is in no way a cure for AIDS. Third [as heard], you have heard a great deal, discussions about material and technical supplies for the fight against AIDS.

[Correspondent] You have had major complaints against the ministries.

[Chazov] Yes. Unfortunately, neither the Ministry of Medical Microbiology Industry nor the Ministry of Instrument-making are fulfilling the corresponding party government decisions. They should have supplied us with a sufficient quantity of diagnostic equipment, apparatus for setting up laboratories, and finally, disposable syringes. Unfortunately, we are only now starting to receive these. I think that the complex of questions that are set out to be solved—which we will pass to the government and to party organs—will allow a more active decision on the problem of the fight against AIDS. [end recording]

*Legal Aspects of Fight Discussed

WA18000352b Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 6 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by A. Babin, chief of the AIDS Prevention Division at the Republic Center of Hygiene and Disease Control, Ministry of Health of the Belorussian SSR: "AIDS Terminates Life"]

[Text] What measures are taken to prevent the spread of this vicious infection, what should be done in order to further reinforce the obstacles in its path—these are the topics considered by the author of this article.

As of now, 112 Soviet citizens are known to have contracted the AIDS virus. In the opinion of specialists, this is only the tip of the iceberg; actually, the number of persons infected is much higher. Over the last year, 1988, the number of persons infected grew 3.5 times compared to the end of 1987.

Infection is brought from abroad both by foreigners and Soviet citizens on business trips abroad. So far, this is the main way, but the number of those infected by their fellow countrymen is increasing from one month to the next.

The infection has not spared our republic. Over 1.2 million persons have been tested for AIDS. Twenty-nine foreigners infected with the AIDS virus have been found, and the contraction of this virus by seven citizens of the republic, including four in Minsk, has been ascertained. The actual number of those infected is much higher; simply put, they have not been discovered yet by the health care agencies.

Prostitutes and other persons with a chaotic sex life are the most dangerous group as far as spreading AIDS is concerned. What is the status of testing them? How many of them are there? Nobody is in a position to give an exact answer to this question. There are especially many of them in areas which include Intourist facilities, dormitories of foreign specialists; however, such persons are not officially registered anywhere. What are the physicians to do? We have taken the way of setting up offices for anonymous testing. However, it quickly turned out that persons infected with AIDS continue to remain anonymous and infect their partners with AIDS. We began to set up offices of confidential testing (at present, there are 11 of them in the republic). Complete medical cofidentiality of the testing is maintained. Any citizen of any administrative unit may take the test, be it in Minsk, Vitebsk or another city of his choosing. Then he can call and ask about the results. It is recommended that persons in the high-risk groups get tested every 3 months and subsequently once in 3 months over a quite long period of time. There are observations suggesting that AIDS-positive results do not appear until 1.5 years later.

Internal afffairs agencies could be very helpful in discovering and testing prostitutes, homosexuals and other persons—carriers of AIDS who are socially dangerous. Unfortunately, they almost do not refer suspects for testing to treatment and prevention facilities. Legal issues are the bone of contention. Last year, 60 homosexuals were tested, that is, practically only the ones convicted of this, and we do not know how widespread this is. There are thousands of suspects. In the United States, where homosexuality is not punishable by law, there are about 2 million male homosexuals, i. e., about 1 percent of the entire population. It is up to the lawyers to decide whether it is possible to legalize these persons in our country. As far as health care employees are concerned, it would be better for these persons to be under medical observation, because, according to data from the foreign press, they are the main source for spreading the infection in some countries. In the United States, AIDS appeared exactly among the homosexuals, and only later began to spread through natural sexual intercourse and the blood of donors.

Sex education of the young people is an acute problem in AIDS prevention. A bigoted attitude to the "forbidden topic" on the part of leading educators, teachers, and even health care employees has brought about "instruction" by those who hold sway in the yard and in the street. In their system of values, it is not shameful to have intercourse at 14 or 15, or even earlier. At that age, the fear of contracting venereal desease is absent, and there is no idea at all of hygiene in sex. If neither the school nor the parents can keep them from premature involvements, we should at least make sure that those do not become fatal. Pregnancy can be terminated, whereas AIDS terminates life.

Massive testing of the populace for AIDS is stifled by the shortage of special equipment (spectrophotometers) for analyses. Domestically manufactured equipment has not been delivered thus far, whereas imported equipment is expensive and, as is known, is purchased for hard currency.

Space meeting the requirements of sanitary and hygienic norms and disease control rules is needed to set up diagnostic AIDS laboratories. Out of necessity, some of the laboratories were set up in adapted dwellings, and the sanitation and disease control service is suggesting that they be closed. Within the next 2 years, 25 to 30 more laboratories have to be created. Additional space is needed, especially in rayon centers.

How should we treat AIDS-infected persons? They should live among us, and not only live but be full-fledged citizens, go to work, to entertainment facilities, swimming pools, etc. Any discrimination of them is inadmissible. In our country, there have already been cases of them being dismissed from their jobs under various pretexts. Exactly the opposite, more sensitive and attentive attitude towards them is needed. Not all of them are debauchers; there are those who have suffered through no fault of their own, say, during a blood transfusion. There are children who have contracted the disease from their mothers or through blood transfusions (according to the data of union statistics, so far there are no infected children in the republic; no cases of infection through blood transfusions have been found either; all donated blood is tested thoroughly). In the health care service, measures are taken to ensure that information on AIDS-infected persons does not leave the confines of the health care facility. Only the management, the ward physician and the infection control doctor, i. e., officials, should know about them.

Every AIDS-infected person, including foreign citizens, gives a signed statement to the effect that he has been warned about criminal penalties for spreading AIDS (as is known, the ukase of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium dated 25 August 1987 provides for 5 years of imprisonment). They are issued leaflets with a list of measures which are bans (to donate blood, to hand over instruments used, including manicure sets, to another person, mandatory use of condoms, etc.). Compliance with the bans ensures that they will not give the disease to those around them because the AIDS virus is not spread through handshakes, dishes, household items not soiled with their blood, air, water in swimming pools and insects.

The more knowledgeable every citizen is about AIDS prevention, the more responsible his attitude toward his own health and way of life is, the less the probability of contracting the horrible virus.

*Enquiry Into Elista Hospital Outbreak

WA18300352A Moscow TRUD in Russian
16 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by V. Belitskiy, TRUD science editor: "Those Guilty Have Been Fired, Problems Remain"]

[Text] The case in Elista where 27 small children were infected with the human immune deficiency virus [AIDS] as a result of criminal negligence of health care employees who used nonsterilized instruments is an extraordinary one, all the more so because the above number is not final.

A commission chaired by Deputy Chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Timofeevich Trubilin has carefully examined both the causes of this event, so to say, at the level of the medical collective, as well as issues directly related to the overall level of medical aid and organization of health care.

As far as the facts of the first group are concerned, they are generally simple and even commonplace, the tragedy notwithstanding: low level of skill of both the physicians and middle-level personnel, the lack of enforcement of mandatory rules of hygiene, botched work, irresponsibility.... After the event became public, some of the medical documentation turned out to be ruined or disappeared. Let us hope that the documents remaining will suffice for the investigation to determine both the specific culprits and the exact picture of the crime. Questions may be asked about the propriety of using the words like criminals and criminal negligence before the court rules. At the meeting of the commission which, incidentally, was attended by representatives from different agencies, including law enforcement, it was said that no other conclusion could be drawn on the basis of materials collected by competent specialists in Elista. It is another matter that specific criminals will have to be determined by the court. At that point, we will be able to tell our readers about them.

As far as the facts of astounding carelessness on the part of physicians and health care administrators which were revealed in Kalmykia and an astounding lack of demands to comply with recommendations for fighting AIDS on the part of services of the Ministry of Health of the RSFSR, they have been found to be incompatible with the positions held by a number of employees, beginning with chief physician of the republic hospital for children M. Manzhiyeva to Minister of Health of Kalmykia L. Tapkin and Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic K. Maksimov. Some managers and members of the board of the Ministry of Health of the Russian Federation were held accountable.

However, it would be naive to think that only the physicians are guilty of what has happened. Preventing an AIDS epidemic in our country is a complex sociopolitical, cultural and educational task to which practically every ministry contributes its part. For example, we have been talking for months about the need for businesslike contacts between physicians and internal affairs agencies. After all, it is nonsensical to assume that doctors would hunt down persons belonging to "high-risk groups"—drug addicts, prostitutes, and so on—in their hangouts and basements. It is clear that an arrangement different from the one in place is needed for working with them, registering them and checking on them. So far, the matter has not advanced beyond negotiations. Here is another aspect of the problem: there are statutes envisaging penalties for spreading AIDS. However, as was stated at the meeting, the office of the prosecutor of the republic still does not monitor compliance with the Decree of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet adopted in 1987 very much. The very legal foundations for fighting AIDS need to be revised. For example, at present people who have worked abroad for a long time are not classified as a "high-risk" group for some reason.

Particular responsibility devolves on industry which produces, or rather fails to produce, the instruments and equipment needed for AIDS prevention. TRUD has written many times about the resourcelessness of the Ministry of the Medical and Biological Industry and the Ministry of Instrument-Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems which have failed the government assignment, failed to organize the production of disposable syringes and needles for injections, an adequate quantity of reliable testing kits and equipment for outfitting diagnostic laboratories. Yesterday, statistics were quoted: the minimal need of the RSFSR for such laboratories is 640; however, at present there are only 163 of them due to the absence of spectrophotometers which these ministries have failed to deliver.

Bureaucratism, lack of initiative, lack of organizational skills which have, unfortunately, become characteristic features of operations by many sectors in our country, and also of the entire economic mechanism, are clearly seen in the case of the approach to the production of disposable syringes and systems. The government assignment for them was given as long as 2.5 years ago. However, little has been accomplished over this actually long time. Speaking at the meeting, Minister V. Bykov stated: "There are going to be no syringes if there is no equipment," and referred to poor work of the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry which supposedly paralyzes operations at the enterprises of the Ministry of the Medical and Biological Industry headed by him. What is needed to get things moving? Hard currency, of course! As much as 100 million.

It appears that now, when procrastination is fraught with new and extremely unpleasant consequences, we probably cannot do without purchasing equipment abroad (it is no accident that President of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR V. Pokrovskiy said at the meeting that new outbreaks of the virus may be expected in other places as well). However, we should treat optimistic assurances by the Ministry of the Medical and Biological Industry (as well as the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems), which have been made many times, with a lot of caution. The ministry did produce 30 million syringes last year...without needles! Supposedly, the needles were to be supplied by the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems. The latter was understandably facing an extremely tough technical situation because it had to solve a problem already solved by other countries as recently as 10 or 15 years ago.

...The Ad-hoc Commission of the RSFSR Council of Ministers went into details, evaluated and discussed various measures of aid to the health care service in Kalmykia, and adopted a plan of urgent and long-range measures for the republic. Of course, this is good. However, let us remember that the problems brought into the spotlight by the Elista accident are not solved at meetings. They only hinge on how knowledgeable and honest people are in approaching their professional and human duties.

Gorbachev, Officials Sign Musician's Obituary

PM2702152189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Feb 89 Second Edition p 6

[Obituary of Otar Vasilyevich Taktakishvili]

[Excerpts] Soviet multinational culture has suffered a grievous loss. Otar Vasilyevich Taktakishvili, one of the greatest exponents of the musical arts, a people's artist of the USSR, and winner of the Lenin and USSR State Prizes, has died at the age of 64. [passage omitted]

M.S. Gorbachev, V.I. Vorotnikov, L.N. Zaykov, Ye.K. Ligachev, V.A. Medvedev, V.P. Nikonov, N.I. Ryzhkov, N.N. Slyunkov, V.M. Chebrikov, E.A. Shevardnadze, V.V. Shcherbitskiy, A.N. Yakovlev, A.P. Biryukova, A.V. Vlasov, A.I. Lukyanov, Yu.D. Maslyukov, G.P. Razumovskiy, Yu.F. Solovyev, N.V. Talyzin, D.T. Yazov, O.D. Baklanov, D.I. Patiashvili, A.S. Kapto, V.G. Zakharov, O.Ye. Cherkeziya, A.A. Alizade, Z.I. Andzhaparidze, I.K. Arkhipova, A.M. Balanchivadze, A.A. Belyayev, A.Ya. Degtyarev, V.K. Yegorov, G.A. Kancheli, A.D. Machavariani, E.M. Mirzoyan, V.V. Nikolskiy, N.A. Popkhadze, Ye.F. Svetlanov, G.V. Sviridov, Z.L. Sotkilava, T.N. Khrennikov, S.F. Tsintsadze, Z.A. Chkhendze, R.K. Shchedrin

Economic

Abalkin Notes 'Slowness' of Economic Renewal

AU1702202189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Feb 89 p 4

[Report on news conference given at the Economics Institute in Moscow by Academician Leonid Abalkin, director of the Economics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by Dimitur Gornenski, RABOTNICHESKO DELO Moscow correspondent: "A Line of Strategy, Not a Campaign"; date of news conference not given]

[Text] Stormy discussions frequently take place in the meeting hall of the Economics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In the sphere of economics, as in all fields of life, it is now a time of a furious revival of people's activity and an unleashing of a vigorous search for precise assessments and correct solutions. Academician Leonid Abalkin, the head of this authoritative scientific center, was not surprised by the numerous sharp questions from a small group of journalists who took the seats normally occupied by his colleagues. Our discussion was devoted to the most important topic, which is constantly heard in this hall, namely the restructuring of the country's economic life. Perhaps for this reason, this discussion proceeded in an easy and direct manner, with the openness and desire to rely on the logic of well-tested and clear arguments that are characteristic of the world of science.

Academician Leonid Abalkin is clearly no advocate of such terms as "economic miracle," "economic boom," and so on. He himself channeled the discussion onto the most important problems, when he pointed out that the economic reform being carried out in the Soviet Union is characterized by the gradualness of the stages and the development of the renewal processes from the center—from the top level of the administrative system—to the next lower levels of economic activity. Given the vast scale of the Soviet national economy, this is the most correct solution.

Academician Abalkin pointed out that analysis of the data on the progress of the radical restructuring of the economic mechanism shows that it will start producing substantial results at the beginning of the nineties. We were impatient to hear his reply to the key questions: How do you assess the rate of the positive changes, and is it fast enough to satisfy the Soviet people's expectations of a tangible effect on their living standards?

"The main thing in this context is to realize that restructuring is a lengthy and fundamental process," the scientist began, in his exposition of his views. "This is not a campaign, but rather a line of strategy for quite a long period. The end goal of restructuring is to raise our society to qualitatively new positions, renew its economic and sociopolitical structure, radically increase labor productivity, make a breakthrough to fundamentally new technological systems, and, as a result, not only to raise, but also to qualitatively alter living standards, the structure of consumption, the system of vital values, and their orientation. For this very reason, one cannot always expect, or even in general count on quick, early results from restructuring. Sometimes we ourselves are responsible for the appearance of excessive expectations, for it often seems that once the necessary decisions have been made, everything will then immediately change for the better. However, this does not happen in real life."

[Question] All the same, what is the main trend?

[Abalkin] In principle, the results of restructuring should show an increasing trend of appearing, because we are progressing from individual decisions and measures to implementing comprehensive transformations. This process is expected to take place in the period until the year 1990. Our aim is to complete an entire complex of reforms, and to enter the 13th 5-Year Plan period with a developed overall system of management. This means that the results should also increase. The experience of the past few decades shows that if we only complete the first individual steps, then no major changes will ensue. This is precisely why the question has arisen of why the results achieved have been so small. One can justifiably answer this question with another one: Why should the results have been greater? What great things have we done to ensure that they would be more substantial? Many decisions, documents, and decrees have been adopted, but the real changes in the system of management are not yet sufficient. Of course, people want to see and feel the effects of the reforms under way on their own pay, their own situation, and the trading position. Unfortunately, the results are appearing more slowly than might be expected.

[Question] What are the reasons for this?

[Abalkin] There are many reasons. In analyzing them, often everything boils down to the fact that the restructuring of the economic management apparatus is proceeding slowly. This reason does exist, although I am not inclined to think it is the only one. In my view, the chief obstacle is the widely held "wait-and-see" attitude. Some people think like this: Let the others restructure themselves, and we will wait and see how it turns out; and if it is successful, then we will support them and join their camp. This is an extremely serious negative social phenomenon, a result of well-known apathy, social fatigue, and perhaps one might say even an antireaction to the various appeals and promises that in the not-too-distant past tired and bored people, and set their teeth on edge, as it were.

Another reason for the slowness of restructuring is connected with the fact that the objective situation proved to be extremely unfavorable. I am not thinking of the vagaries of the weather, because, despite these, we did have a reasonable harvest in recent years. I refer instead to the unfavorable state of the international market for our country, in which there have been sharp declines in the prices of goods traditionally exported by the USSR. In 1986, the foreign goods exchange fell by 8 percent, and in 1987 by a further 2 percent. This restricted the purchase of many goods, without which our machine-building and light industry cannot operate successfully at present. This lessened our room for maneuver in our economy.

[Question] What are the ways of overcoming these difficulties from the viewpoint of economic science?

[Abalkin] The comprehensive analysis of the situation further convinces us that we must think more seriously and carefully about future prospects. Both now and previously, it has been the case that the line taken was frequently directed toward quick results. Concern for the present moment takes a vast amount of energy from both the labor collectives and the higher levels of management. However, in the conditions of restructuring, I now believe that it is particularly important to give strategy priority over tactics, and complete solutions priority over local ones, and to have an overall approach to the development of the national economy as a single whole, instead of constructing the economy from individual "building blocks." It is important today not merely to fulfill the indices for one quarter, or to conduct yet another routine campaign. We must concentrate on strategy, irrespective of whether we are talking about the scientific and technical base of production, the renewal of the system of economic relations, or the selection of key directions and forms for economic life.

[Question] What real phenomena in the economy can form a basis for making optimistic forecasts about the success of restructuring?

[Abalkin] The main thing is that the most important negative processes in economic life have been halted, and that positive changes are gradually establishing themselves. As I have already stated, substantial results will be seen when the comprehensive changes in the economic mechanism are completed, and when they begin to have a real effect on the activity of the economic organizations and branches. A vast amount of work has already been completed, but it is also clear that we cannot set our minds to rest, and that we must move ahead in developing and confirming the new economic thinking. It is necessary to put the existing scientific ideas and principles into specific forms, because it is crystal clear that the path from them to the mechanism of management is a very long one indeed. We also have to deepen our scientific provisions, and to develop concepts that provide a general picture of restructuring. As well as all this, the next steps must also be prepared, for the need has arisen for a reform of the price policy, a changeover to wholesale trade with the means of production, and a restructuring of the finance and credit system. It should not be forgotten that the mechanism of economic activity is a historical concept, and it is a natural objective necessity that this mechanism should be changed, refined, and reorganized in conformity with the requirements of the degree of social development that has been reached.

'Roundtable' Discussion of State's Financial Status

LD2302230689 Moscow TASS in English 2154 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS—The improvement of the Soviet Union's financial situation is the first and indispensable condition of the country's socio-economic development. This is the opinion of participants in a round-table discussion held here on Thursday [23 February] which was attended by the leading experts of the USSR Finance Ministry and the USSR State Bank, as well as by well-known Soviet economists.

They believe that a further deepening of a radical economic reform is being hampered to a considerable extent by the instability of the financial situation brought about by the budget deficit. This is why this problem must be resolved for the country to be able to take urgent steps aimed at improving its financial situation. One should bear in mind that financial measures alone will not be sufficient for that. Profound economic transformations are needed.

In the opinion of Academician Leonid Abalkin, the first thing to do should be to give up the ruinous habit of living beyond one's means. The investment policy should be revised and the number of new projects should be dramatically cut. The elimination of loss-making or low-profit enterprises in all the branches of economy will permit to block another channel of the fragmentation of resources. Academician Abalkin believes that this alone will permit to save some 20 billion roubles.

Vyacheslav Zakharov, deputy chairman of the board of the USSR State Bank, pointed to the need for changing the existing level of interest rates which would permit to use bank resources more effectively. He said that the use of the bank's money reserves by the state was quite permissible and emphasised that it was necessary to set a limit to the borrowing by the state from the country's central bank.

Participants in the discussion mentioned the dramatic growth of the production of consumer goods and the services sector, as well as the development of the securities market as ways of increasing the state's income.

Katushev Addresses Conference on Economic Policy

LD2402042589 Moscow TASS in English 1346 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Moscow February 23 TASS—A meeting on issues of perfecting the activity of Soviet foreign economic organisations abroad, which opened here on Thursday [23 February], is considering a broad ranges of topics related to management of foreign economic ties.

In the focus of attention are issues of conducting a uniform foreign economic policy, regulating export-import transactions in conditions of democratising foreign economic activity, and balancing foreign trade operations with individual countries and regions.

The participants in the conference examined ways of perfecting the structure of goods exchanges, expanding the export of manufactured items and deepening investment cooperation.

Minister for Foreign Ecomomic Relations Konstantin Katushev addressed the opening of the conference.

Kachanov on Industry's Export Reform Tasks

PM2402154189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with A.N. Kachanov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations, by unnamed correspondent: "Steps Into the Business World"—date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [PRAVDA] As of 1 April 1989 the right to directly carry out export-import operations is being granted to all enterprises, associations, cooperatives, and other organizations. Moreover, it is indicated that their output must be competitive. How will this right be implemented? Who will determine output's competitiveness and how?

[Kachanov] Any of the Soviet organizations listed in the resolution, possessing the status of a legal entity, and interested in implementing export-import operations can become a direct participant in foreign economic activity. They can start corresponding with foreign firms, hold talks, open foreign currency accounts at the Foreign Economic Bank and its branches, and, most important of all, conclude contracts on their own behalf for the purchase and sale of goods and services. Moreover, the organization takes on entire responsibility for the contract and foreign trade risks.

The organizations and enterprises decide independently whether it is more rational to directly conduct operations on the foreign market, setting up a foreign trade firm for this purpose, or to instruct our ministry's specialized foreign economic organizations to make deals.

The main concern is to have goods which are competitive on the foreign market. The holding of any additional expert assessments is not envisaged here. Soviet certification of output and the presence of the state Seal of Quality or other symbols will not play a decisive role here. The actual suitability of the goods for sale on the foreign market is determined solely and exclusively by the goods themselves, and the foreign market puts down its assessment in the exporter's order book probably more strictly than state acceptance.

[PRAVDA] What practical steps must be taken by enterprises, organizations, and cooperatives wishing to be included in foreign economic activity?

[Kachanov] First I will talk about exports. First of all, by employing on a contractual basis specialized consultation services—and these have been created in the USSR Chamber of Trade and Industry, the All-Union Market Research Institute, the All-Union Foreign Trade Academy, and also on a cooperative basis—they must determine real prospects for the sale of their output, taking into account the demands of specific markets, and formulate a program to break into those markets. The program must include measures of a production and technical nature, the improvement of the quality and packaging of goods, the preparation of technical documentation in foreign languages, measures to improve design, patent protection of technical and artistic solutions, the formulation and registration of trade marks, and the preparation of advertising material. It is important to set up in good time an overseas marketing and service network, using also for these purposes the services of joint-stock companies abroad in which there is Soviet participation.

Organizations, enterprises, and cooperatives which enter the foreign market must be registered with our ministry. But registration does not mean obtaining permission to implement export-import activity. It is for the purpose of statistical and financial accounting. It is intended to publish lists of organizations implementing foreign economic activity in the USSR Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations official publications and in various directories and handbooks—this will give them additional publicity. Registration gives the right to a subscription service offering essential information and consultations on an economically accountable basis via our "InformVES" Association. Material of practical use is contained in the VNESHNYAYA TORGOVLYA journal and All-Union Market Research Institute publications.

At the same time concern must be shown for training cadres for foreign economic activity. Diverse opportunities now exist for this: the All-Union Academy of Foreign Trade, the Institute for Raising Qualifications, and the Higher Commercial School. The USSR Academy of the National Economy and business schools in a number of our country's cities implement cadre training of this kind.

The commercial efficiency of a deal is particularly important when goods are imported. It is determined by the level of world prices, about which people should have a correct and qualified idea. It is also important to competently enshrine rights, guarantees, and risks in the contract. Particularly in the early days, this should be done with the assistance of specialists from outside.

[PRAVDA] Could you say briefly how export-import activity will now be regulated from the viewpoint of observing state interests in the foreign market?

[Kachanov] First of all, I would like to stress that state regulation of export and import certainly exists in any developed country. It is based on the principles and rules of international trade established in practice and ensures the elimination of unjustified competition, the implementation of the trade policy adopted in a given country, and protection within reasonable limits of the rights of domestic producers and consumers.

Recently claims have appeared in the Soviet mass media that the departmental monopoly on foreign economic ties continues. This is a mistaken opinion. It is a question not of a department's exclusive right but of the state's prerogative to regulate foreign economic operations via its own organs. I am referring to statewide interests.

I shall particularly single out the question of prices. The country suffers material loss because goods are sold at reduced prices and bought at higher ones. So coordination of pricing policy right up to establishing permitted limits on individual groups of goods is envisaged. Although, given the mobility of prices in the market and the diversity of goods, this is a technically difficult task for one department to accomplish. Exporters' associations in which the interests of all producers of similar output are represented must also have their say.

The USSR Council of Ministers is formulating a list of individual goods which can be exported and imported only by specialized foreign trade organizations. They will be published. People should also have a clear idea when it is necessary to obtain export and import licenses (permits) from the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations for export and import and to make the appropriate stipulation in the contract.

The enterprises, organizations, and cooperatives which have started establishing foreign economic operations must be interested in obtaining methodological assistance and documents of a legal nature.

[PRAVDA] What specific assistance can your ministry and its subdivisions and institutions give to industrial enterprises and associations producing goods for export?

[Kachanov] One of the ministry's main tasks is to accelerate the foreign economic process. The efficiency and timeliness of the ministry's work on these questions will help the entire foreign economic complex to function harmoniously, with due regard for the interests of the state, enterprises, organizations, and cooperatives.

Now an Integrated System of Foreign Economic Information is being set up in our country. The database includes the most diverse information on different aspects. An information resources catalogue has been set up and the procedure for its use has been laid down. Every participant in foreign economic ties will be acquainted with it when it registers with the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

Economic reform is prompting our ministry to look for new ways of providing services to all interested Soviet organizations and foreign partners. The publication of a whole range of information and reference material is planned. This will certainly help new participants in foreign economic ties to take their first, and therefore most difficult, steps in the business world.

*Gusev Attends Oil Refining Ministry Session

WA18220041 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 14 Feb 89 p 2

[Report by V. Vyatsira: "Net Output"]

[Text] Togliatti—The 1988 results of the work of the sector and since the beginning of the 5-year plan were summed up at a session of the extended collegium of the USSR Ministry of Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry. In his report, Minister N. Lemayev noted that under the conditions of cost accounting, results outstripping the assignments of the 5-year plan in terms of growth rates in basic technical and economic indicators were achieved. The use of the anti-outlay "net" production indicator made it possible to substantially decrease the share of raw materials and materials.

Nonetheless, the economic activities of the enterprises in the petroleum-refining petrochemical enterprises suffer from many essential shortcomings. Steps were earmarked at the session to accelerate the pace of scientific and technical progress, to upgrade production quality, to broaden the autonomy of labor collectives, and to solve social problems. The question of creating a stock holding company in charge of foreign economic relations to aid enterprises wishing to offer goods on the world market was considered. A sectorial ecological center will be organized.

The work of the collegium was attended by V. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Bureau for the Chemical-Timber Complex.

*Leningrad Meeting on Ship Production, Shortages

WA18290105 Moscow VODNYY TRANSPORT in Russian24 Jan 89 p 3

[V. Yeliseyev report: "Ships of the Future"]

[Text] Leningrad—This was the theme of a Leningrad joint meeting of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet and USSR Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry. Those invited to it included directors and chief engineers from leading shipbuilding yards in the country, the chiefs of maritime steamship lines, and scientists from the Central Scientific Research Institute of the Maritime Fleet and other scientific research institutes and design bureaus in both sectors.

The collegium was led by I. Koksanov, USSR minister of the shipbuilding industry, and Yu. Volmer, USSR minister of the maritime fleet.

The following took part in the meeting's work: Yu. Tsarev, deputy chief of a USSR Gosplan section; D. Filippov, secretary of the Leningrad party obkom; B. Yunitsyn, O. Savin, and N. Tsakh, deputy ministers of the maritime fleet; I. Alekseyev, L. Pruss, and V. Chmyr, deputy ministers of the shipbuilding industry; A. Bubnov, Central Committee secretary of the trade union for maritime and river fleet workers; R. Belik, director of the USSR Registry of Shipping; I. Gradusov, northwest transport procurator; and V. Malov, the Baltic transport procurator.

The first two reports, presented to the collegium by S. Dranitsyn, deputy director of the Central Scientific Research Institute of the Maritime Fleet, and V. Dorin, section chief of the Central Scientific Research Institute imeni A.N. Krylov, were quite long but gave those present the impression of a certain "scientific" vagueness and an imprecise expression of thought and discussion of some amorphous problems far removed from reality. What, for example, is the worth of the "promising discoveries" mentioned by the first speaker, such as the fact that "no changes are foreseen in transport technology over the next 10 to 15 years," "we shall need freighters to carry timber in pallets," "passenger ships will have to be absolutely unsinkable," and so forth?

The second speaker informed those present that in foreign shipbuilding there are no concepts for ships of the future, that the reliability of Soviet-built equipment for ships is significantly lower than foreign equipment, and so on.

And it was not fortuitous that, following the first two reports, I. Koksanov, minister of the shipbuilding industry, was forced to note that "even after these two 'scientific' reports, I still have not seen the contours of the ships in the year 2000...."

And, of course, today's designs will be built in the new century....

The seamen who then spoke were better orators than the scientific men, and their strength lay mainly in their own competence and in the specific nature of what they discussed.

N. Utkin, chief engineer of the Murmansk steamship line, discussed precisely what ships are needed for work in the Arctic and what must be done to improve the reliability of equipment for ships.

Although brief, the speech by V. Kharchenko, chief of the Baltic steamship line, was particularly brilliant.

"In the Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry," he said, "due to the upcoming cutbacks in the Soviet Armed Forces, production capacities and manpower have been freed up. And we have shortages of ships. We will not have enough in the year 2000, and we do not have enough now...."

The chief of the Baltic steamship line emphasized that the Soviet-built maritime fleet is quite reliable but also very costly.

"Roll-on-roll-off ships, which are being built for seamen at the Leningrad shipbuilding plant A.A. Zhdanov, cost R35 million to R39 million. For that money we could buy two ships from abroad.... We expect from the country's shipbuilders ships that are less expensive but competitive. Their speed should be better than 25 knots. Designers must make provisions for the assembly method for repairing ships' mechanisms."

An interesting proposal was made to the collegium by L. Loza, chief of the Novorossiysk maritime steamship line: combine shipbuilding and ship repairs under a single ministry. In the opinion of the Novorossiysk seaman, whoever builds a seagoing ship should also repair it throughout its life in service.

The decision adopted by the joint collegium of the USSR Ministry of the Maritime Fleet and the USSR Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry was aimed at further improving scientific, planning, and design work during the planning of oceangoing ships of the future.

State To Fully Redeem 1953 Loan Bonds

PM2402142189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Feb 89 Morning Edition p 6

[IZVESTIYA editor's note in response to reader's letter under the heading: "Master of His Word"]

[Text] USSR Finance Minister B. Gostev reported in PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK No 3: "This year, despite financial difficulties, the state has deemed it necessary to provide for a considerable sum—R1.4 billion—in the budget to redeem in full in 1989 the bonds of the 1953 loan. The specific date for beginning this action is now being determined.... At the same time, work is being done to find material and financial resources to liquidate bonds of the loans floated during 1954-56."

Agricultural

Ligachev Addresses Journalists on Food Problem

LD2302195889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] At the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Gostoleradio, meetings have taken place between Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and journalists of agricultural departments and editorial boards of central newspapers, television, broadcasting, and TASS.

Questions connected with improving the work of the agroindustrial complex and resolving the food problems were examined in a frank atmosphere.

Comrade Ligachev addressed agricultural journalists and replied to their questions. In doing so he stressed that resolving the food problem has become a particularly burning issue in the country. It was not fortuitous that the CPSU Central Committee made the decision to discuss the problem of agricultural policy at the Central Committee plenum, for which vigorous preparations are now underway. The mass media has a great role in raising the effectiveness of agricultural business in the country. The wish was expressed that a diversity of forms of management should be propagandized and that everything new, in particular financial autonomy and contracting relations, various kinds of leasing, cooperation, and self-management, should be vigorously supported.

Vorotnikov Visits Voronezh Processing Complex

LD2602132589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Feb 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondents L. Maksimov and V. Mikoshi from Voronezh]

[Text] In industrial Voronezh, a branch of industry that is essentially new to it is being widely developed: the processing industry. Following on the heels of the Prirodnaya Gastronomiya combine, a complete procurement and processing complex belonging to the oblast union of consumer cooperatives is being built in the city. It will include a diary combine, stores producing salami and cured meat, a fruit drying line, a refrigerator, and a store room. Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov visited here today. The first facilities of the complex are already in operation and producing. But where can the produce be purchased?

In the last 2 years alone more than 20 cooperative retail shops have been opened in Voronezh. Comrade Vorotnikov visited one of them, the Kooperator shop. Of course, the prices here are a bit higher than state prices, but they are within reach, and the selection is good. There are few customers here, at the height of the working day. Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov wonders whether the selection of goods is always as good as this. He is told that today it is poorer than usual because something was not delivered. That is the problem. Then there is a conversation with customers in the vegetable section.

Urizhay and Niva are two more new stores that Comrade Vorotnikov visited. The food problem is one of the main problems, and the consumer cooperative network has a role to play here.

True, not everything is working out quite the way that people would like, and to date the path from intention to implementation is long. For example, the Pioneer palace in Voronezh was under construction for many years. At long last it is ready: a real palace for children. There are 346 clubs here catering to every taste. Vitaliy Ivanovich Vorotnikov visited one of them, the marine club.

In the evening Comrade Vorotnikov visited the Voronezh aviation production association. The new Il-96 aircraft will take off this coming year. [video shows views of the complex and the shops; Vorotnikov and woman inspecting the wares and chatting; exterior and interior of Pioneer palace; Vorotnikov and entourage descending stairs inside it and entering a classroom of children; and a number of unpainted aircraft in a hangar]

*World Grain Markets, Soviet Import Needs Noted

WA18240044 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 4 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by A. Sizov, candidate of economic sciences: "Agrarian Panorama of the World: On the Grain Market"]

[Text] What is going on in the international grain market? What are the directions of its development? These are far from idle questions. You see, we have already become accustomed to the fact that in the last 15 years our country has annually imported significant amounts of grain.

Our position as grain purchasers has been somewhat ameliorated by the fact that world prices for the majority of agricultural commodities have dropped significantly since the mid-1980's. From 1984 to 1987, for example, the export price of U.S. wheat fell 35 percent from $148 to $110 per ton, and the price of corn fell 68 percent from $123 to $73. Actually, for many grain importers, including the Soviet Union, foreign purchase prices were still lower. This especially applies to wheat, which U.S. exporters have been delivering to our country at a considerable discount for the past 2 years. Let us note that such sales practices have become typical not only for the United States but also for other major grain exporters, especially the EEC countries, which dump both wheat and individual meat and dairy products at reduced prices.

Of course, this does not imply charity. This is a forced measure reflecting the crisis that has emerged in international trade relations in the agrarian sector of the world capitalist economy. The growth in agricultural production in the 1st half of the 1980's combined with the stagnation of demand on world food markets has led to a significant increase of agrarian "surpluses" in the main exporting countries. Hopes for the dynamic growth of import demand from the developing countries have not been justified. Many of them entered the 1980's with a growing foreign debt burden, which sharply limited their import capabilities. Others, such as India, Indonesia, and the Philippines, for example, thanks to the "green revolution," have dramatically increased their level of self-sufficiency in grain. Compared to the mid-1980's, the Soviet Union's foreign grain purchases also decreased somewhat. The demand for grain has begun to lag behind its supply in the world markets.

The growing "surpluses" of agrarian products, especially in the United States and the EEC countries, has begun to really threaten the well-being of farmers and, what is more important, large agribusiness firms. Under pressure from the "farm lobby," the ruling circles of these countries have resorted to a sharp expansion of direct and indirect subsidies to agricultural producers. From 1980 to 1987, government spending for these purposes jumped from $3 billion to $25 billion in the United States and from $17 billion to $26 billion in the EEC countries. A significant portion of these funds goes directly to subsidizing agricultural exports, a portion which has become the main weapon in the interimperialist struggle for markets.

At first, success in this struggle accompanied the EEC countries, who resorted to stimulating agricultural exports through "financial injections" much earlier. The excessive rate of exchange of the U.S. dollar also played its role in the 1st half of the 1980's, which led to a rise in prices of U.S. agricultural commodities in comparison with similar products from other countries.

They did not have to wait long for retaliatory measures from the United States. The new agrarian legislation adopted 4 years ago directly states the need to defend the competitiveness of U.S. agricultural commodities. A special government program for stimulating agricultural exports became one of the effective measures, and $2.5 billion were allocated for its implementation. In 3 years, U.S. grain companies, compensated by funds from this program, sold approximately 65 million tons of grain at reduced prices to more than 60 countries, including the USSR and the PRC. This enabled the United States to regain its positions in seemingly already lost markets and, in a number of instances, to even reach new ones.

Such a shift in world grain markets evoked a fit of temper in the EEC and other exporting countries who found it harder to counteract the expansion of U.S. grain trading companies. In the spring of last year, the French minister of agriculture, speaking at the Institute of International Economics in Washington, D.C., declared that the EEC is prepared to accept the U.S. challenge and is able to wage a trade war. As if answering him, R. Lyng, then U.S. secretary of agriculture, remarked: "...Our pockets are a little deeper."

Questions of international agricultural trade occupied a prominent place during the last two meetings of the heads of the seven leading capitalist countries in Venice and Toronto. In a letter sent to the leaders of the seven countries on the eve of the Venice meeting, R. Reagan called the situation in world agrarian markets "the most serious threat to the unity of developed capitalist countries." For the first time, agricultural policy began to be discussed in detail even within the framework of GATT. This is quite an important fact, for the decisions of this organization, which regulates key issues of international capitalist trade, have the force of law for all member states. The U.S. position at these talks can be formulated as follows: the elimination by the year 2000 of direct and indirect subsidies which are deforming world agricultural trade.

This proposal did not find a response among the Common Market countries. J. Delors, president of the Commission of European Communities—the executive organ of the EEC—stated that ending subsidies to the 11 million farmers of these countries would transform agricultural regions into a desert abandoned by young people, one in which there would only be "Indian reservations of the aged." As an alternative, EEC representatives proposed "freezing" government agricultural support programs at the 1984 level. The so-called Cairns Group of Countries, which includes 13 exporters of agricultural commodities which do not resort to government subsidies for their exports, took an intermediate stand. This group includes Australia, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, the Philippines, Thailand, Hungary, and other countries. Their proposal was to begin a gradual reduction of subsidies, reducing them by 10 percent by the beginning of the next decade, without tying themselves to a mandatory total elimination of all types of subsidies by some specific date.

All these proposals were discussed at the GATT talks in Montreal (Canada) last December. However, disagreements were not resolved. It seems that this was caused not only by the "irreconcilability" of the sides, primarily the United States and the EEC. In the end, compromise solutions may be found, which is indicated by the experience of GATT talks on other international trade issues. The fact is that it is most likely that the situation in world agricultural markets, especially grain markets, has begun to change substantially.

Last summer's unprecedented heat and drought were constant themes of U.S. newspapers and TV news broadcasts. In many regions of the United States, the mercury stood at a record highs for many days. Spring wheat and corn crops were particularly hard hit by the drought. In comparison with 1987, their harvest fell by 53 and 36 percent, respectively. On the whole, U.S. grain production was only 196 million tons, almost 84 million tons less than in the preceding year, which was not the best year. Canada, second in world grain exports, also did not manage to avoid the drought. Only 35 million tons were harvested altogether, which is 17-20 tons less than the average production level in recent years. True, the EEC countries and a number of Asian countries did have a good grain harvest. But this was only partial compensation for the shortage of grain in the United States and Canada. As a result, according to estimates, the world grain harvest last year totaled approximately 1.73 billion tons, roughly 70 million below the 1987 level.

The poor harvest by two major grain suppliers to the world market had a particular effect on the quantity of export resources. It is expected that the reserves in the main exporting countries will be reduced from 230 to 117 million tons by the beginning of next year's harvest. In these conditions, prices crept higher, and by the end of last year they were 28 to 30 percent (wheat) and 30-35 percent (corn) higher than in April.

It is precisely the change in world agricultural market conditions that allowed the exporting countries to avoid the search for joint solutions to the contradictions that have accumulated in the international agrarian trade sector, and primarily with grain. However, it appears doubtful that the bad harvest in North America is capable of bringing with it a relatively prolonged, irreversible increase in world prices. The problems of sales and the corresponding struggle for markets will continue and most likely will make themselves felt already at the end of this year.

What is the basis for such an assertion? On one hand, even in conditions of low prices the import demand has remained quite slack, primarily in connection with the serious foreign financial situation of a large group of developing countries. It is obvious that an increase in world grain prices will force many of these countries to curtail their foreign purchases. On the other hand, the contradictions among the main grain-exporting countries are tied in a tight knot. A solution to them has still not been found within the GATT framework, and they do not make it possible for any of these countries to lower or "freeze" production unilaterally. What is more, a significant grain shortage and a sharp reduction in export resources, as was the case in the United States and Canada, are fraught with lowering these countries' world market shares and literally urging them on to active measures to increase grain production. Thus, in the United States, government programs to limit the area under cultivation this year will encompass only one-tenth of all the area being farmed, compared to 27 percent last year. It is expected that this will result in a 20-percent increase in crops. Favorable weather conditions have also occurred to aid an increase in wheat production in the EEC countries. The first preliminary estimates also indicate that a record world wheat crop will probably be harvested in 1989: approximately 550 million tons, or 40 million tons more than in the preceding year. Thus, already today the signs of a new round of aggravating the confrontation in grain markets are becoming quite apparent. This is why the United States, despite the rapid decrease in export resources, continues to offer wheat at reduced prices to the leading importers, the PRC and the USSR, thereby striving to prevent the weakening of its presence in these important markets.

However, the fact that the Soviet Union has for a number of years been an actively competitive market between the various grain-exporting countries, which in the struggle for it offer subsidized deliveries, evokes first of all anxiety and bitterness.

Anxiety, because we are dependent on the fluctuations of market conditions and on the results of talks of the GATT participants (the USSR does not participate in this organization) on the questions of eliminating subsidies on deliveries of agricultural commodities. Meanwhile, the ultimate aims of the exporters of agrarian products coincide in principle: to create conditions for stabilizing world prices at a relatively high level. While not underestimating the acuteness of disagreements, we will at the same time emphasize that this task is quite practical.

Bitterness, because continuing to import large amounts of grain year after year is evidence of the trouble that has been drawn out for too long in our grain farming, and particularly wheat farming. The grain issue must be resolved in the shortest possible time, for tomorrow grain from across the ocean will cost us considerably more.